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NOTES AND NEWS

THE Coronation Exhibition, which replaced the Festival of Britain Exhibition in May of last year, was in its turn replaced in November by a Bible Exhibition. BIBLE EXHIBITION. This has been arranged in connection with the celebrations for the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the British and Foreign Bible Society and includes rare items from both the Department of Manuscripts and the Department of Printed Books.

The Department of Manuscripts has contributed four cases, of which the first two have been arranged to illustrate manuscript versions of the Scriptures, the second two to show examples of the manner in which the Scriptures were adorned during the manuscript period. In the former two cases are exhibited versions of the Bible in eleven different languages (Hebrew, Samaritan, Greek, Latin, Syriac, Arabic, Armenian, Coptic, English, Ethiopic and Persian), beginning with the St. John and Deuteronomy fragments, the earliest known manuscripts of the New Testament and of the Greek Old Testament, respectively. Among other codices of interest may be mentioned what is apparently the oldest of Bohairic New Testament manuscripts (tenth century), the earliest dated manuscript (A.D. 1211) of the whole Samaritan Pentateuch outside Nablus, a sixth century Syriac Gospel Book, a ninth century Armenian Gospel Book, a fifteenth century Ethiopic version of Enoch, Job and Kings, and two Latin Gospels of the tenth and eleventh centuries written in Germany. The English version is represented by a large folio Wycliffite Bible of the early fifteenth

century. The two following cases contain illuminated manuscripts of the New and Old Testaments in Greek, Latin, Coptic, English, French and Armenian. Of the eight Latin manuscripts four provide examples of early German illumination, two of French, another probably came from French Flanders, although it shows traces of English influence, and the eighth is included as an example of the miniature Bibles characteristic of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. These cases also contain a sixth century ivory of the Adoration and an enamel plaque (Limoges work of the thirteenth century) of the Crucifixion to illustrate the kind of materials used in the Middle Ages to adorn the bindings of Gospel Books. Two complete jewelled Gospel covers, providing examples of the finished product, are also shown.

Of the cases containing printed books two are of especial interest. The first shows blockbooks, at least one of which was produced before the invention of printing from movable types, and also biblical works designed for the unscholarly in the early days of printing. The earliest of all blockbooks, the *Apocalypsis S. Joannis*, produced in the Netherlands *c.* 1435, lies beside two others of *c.* 1450, while the printed books are the Latin and the German editions of the *Biblia Pauperum*, printed *c.* 1462-3, by Albrecht Pfister at Bamberg, and the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, produced at Utrecht, *c.* 1470, partly by typography, partly by xylography. The second case shows the two earliest printed Bibles, the 42-line (Gutenberg, *c.* 1454-6) and the much rarer 36-line, called from its type the *Pfister*, Bible, *c.* 1458, and with them the first dated Bible, the fine edition on vellum of Fust and Schoeffer, 1462, and the edition printed by Sweynheym and Pannartz at Rome in 1471. The remaining cases are almost entirely devoted to vernacular translations, beginning with the German, printed by Mentelin at Strassburg in 1466, and including the first Italian (1471), first Dutch (1477) and first Danish (1550). Erasmus's Greek and Latin New Testament (1516) is shown with a volume of the great Complutensian Polyglott (1514-17). A representative selection of English Bibles includes Coverdale's Bible (1535), the "Great" Bible (1539), the "Genevan" version (1560), King James's Bible (1611),

and the first English Bibles printed in Scotland (1579) and in America (1781-2). With a first edition of the Gospels in Anglo-Saxon (1561) are first translations of parts of the Bible into Welsh (1567), Irish (1602), and Manx (1771-3). In the final case is a selection from the Library's extensive collection of the versions of the Bible issued under the auspices of the British and Foreign Bible Society, supported by several of the translations into Indian tongues printed at the Serampore Mission Press and by a group of the dialect versions privately printed for Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte.

THE TATTON MUNIMENTS.

Some thirty years ago Mr. R. H. G. Tatton deposited in this Library the important muniments of the Tattons of Wythenshawe. The Tattons are one of the oldest families in Cheshire, and their estates have the distinction of being one of the very few in the extensive Hundred of Macclesfield which were handed down in the same family from as early as the fourteenth century to the present century. Wythenshawe itself was granted to Robert de Tatton in 1370, but the family appears in Cheshire earlier than this; the muniments, in fact, date from the previous century and cover some five hundred and fifty years. This entire collection Mr. Tatton has now generously presented to the Library. It relates in the main to Wythenshawe itself, to Northenden, to Etchells and to Macclesfield, but other places in counties Cheshire and Flint are well represented, such as Altrincham, High Legh, Knutsford, Bowdon, Bredbury and Romiley. Among the many types of records which occur are early charters, deeds of title of various kinds, leases, marriage settlements, surveys, subsidy rolls, rent books, suit rolls, jury presentments and, not least important, seventeenth century correspondence, some of which relates to the Civil War in this part of the country. Earwaker, the Cheshire historian, was, of course, aware of the existence of this valuable material, but in his "East Cheshire" he was only able to touch the fringe of it. There is a wealth of information remaining for the local, social and economic historian and for the student of Cheshire place-names. It may perhaps be mentioned that a Calendar, compiled

within the Department, is available for consultation. The thanks of the Library are due to Mr. Tatton both for his generous gift and for the readiness with which in past years he has allowed the muniments of his family to be made available to scholars.

A RECENT LIBRARY EXTENSION.

The problem of finding adequate shelf-room for ever-expanding collections is one which must necessarily occupy every library at some time or other and the additional space is not always ready to hand. In the Rylands Library we have recently been able to take the opportunity offered by a change-over from our own electricity plant to the national supply to add to the available room required for housing the numerous accessions to the Printed Book Department. This change-over freed a capacious engine room, from which, after the removal of the engines and ancillary equipment, and by further excavation, we have obtained a stack-room adequate to contain two floors of book-stacks which will accommodate some 45,000 volumes. The successful carrying out of the scheme was made possible by a grant from the Pilgrim Trust. For this generous assistance, which will enable us to relieve the pressure on other portions of the Library, we take this opportunity of extending our grateful thanks to the Pilgrim Trust.

SIR CHARLES NAPIER OF SCINDE: SOME LETTERS FROM THE BROMLEY DAVENPORT MUNIMENTS.

In the collection of family muniments deposited in the Library by Colonel Walter Bromley Davenport of Capesthorne Hall are twenty-one letters from Sir Charles Napier of Scinde to Edward Davies Davenport. Part of them relate to his brief renting of Calveley Hall and the remainder are concerned with his experiences in India. One from India has been published in full in the *Life of Sir Charles Napier* by William Napier, iii. (1857), 352 ff.

In the year 1839 Napier was appointed General-in-Command of the troops in the northern district of England to preserve law and order against threatened outbreaks of violence by the Chartists. With the exercise of great good temper and calm judgement he carried through his formidable task admirably and

without bloodshed. A glimpse of the conditions with which he had to cope in his Northern Command is afforded in a letter to Mrs. Davenport of 3 July " . . . I hope the *speech* and all other Electioneering operations will prosper on Monday and I hope my soldiers will not be called for; really, the way magistrates have called upon me for troops has been equally harrassing and unnecessary. I dare not say *no* or I would, and if I *ever did* such a thing as *swear*, mayhap I might at them! For my soldiers are plagued to death with nonsensical marches because magistrates have had consciences and fear having their windows broken as they know they deserve! If I had my will I would make the Mayors of towns from the fraternity of Glaziers and then they would not call for Squadrons of Dragoons to save old women's windows! "

NAPIER AT CALVELEY HALL.

To escape from unsuitable lodgings in Chester, and for the sake, too, of his daughters' health, he entertained, in 1841, the prospect of renting Calveley Hall and wrote to Davenport seeking particulars. There is no doubt that he was offered the Hall on most favourable terms. In his letter of 25 February, he wrote: " You say I am heartily welcome to any reduction from your estimate! There you burst out in your chivalry! Reduction, why, my dear Sir, to *accept* your estimate is *all but* a robbery of you! " He goes on to say that he and his wife are so much in love with Calveley that " nothing but my Scotch prudence can prevent my closing with your offer. . . . In the meantime I have to go to Manchester to see a house there which my conscience tells me I ought to take, as we ought to take caster oil out of a sense of necessity. . . . Tall chimnies and Manchester streets instead of the turf vistas and trees and all the charms of Calveley! Well, if I screw up my courage to that point I shall say I am the most prudent man in England and my children ought to be under lasting obligation to me whatever their *lungs* might say! "

His domestic establishment is given in a letter of 25 March, making preliminary arrangements for taking over the Hall. " As to *soldiers* we shall have *two*, my Batman and my Aide-de-Camp, both steady sober men: if they show a contrary

disposition (they have not done so hitherto) they trudge off to their Regiments—my footman and coachman are private servants who are steady, well-behaved young men—Fanny must answer for her maids. I *believe* they are *sober, chaste* and *honest*, but I never answer for ladies in these particulars!"

In April he removed from Chester to Calveley, and on the 3rd wrote to his new landlord. "You say you are poor. Now then you may make money. Send for Cruickshank, let him be at Calveley on the 6th of April, Tuesday, ready to draw the 'immigration of the Northern district to Calveley Hall' which, by dressing a fat man up as a beefeater and hiring a room with red baize, in bond street, you may show for a shilling and make a fortune. 'Walk in Gentlemen and Ladies and you shall see the greatest curosity *as is!*' The picture must be about *25* feet by *50* of canvas to hold *12* or *13* eight *horse waggons*." The Napier family enjoyed to the full their stay at Calveley, particularly the daughters.

APPOINTMENT TO INDIA.

Then quite suddenly came his appointment to India, which he accepted with some reluctance. He wrote on 17 June 1841: "The day before yesterday I received a letter from Lord FitzRoy Somerset by Lord Hill's desire offering me to be a Major General on the Indian Staff at Bombay. As I never asked any favour from 'the powers that be' I was surprised at this offer, because I well know how many of my Comrades push with all their interest to get these good things. I therefore could not but feel gratified, but was still more so by the kind way in which this offer was made. I have accepted it and have by this post written to my Brothers and Sisters to tell them of it, though I fear they will not all of them like my going to 'the far East'. Neither *do I*, to tell you the honest truth, especially with a Cartload of women. But, my dear Davenport, poverty is the devil and when the Devil drives we needs must go! I am, as I told you, as poor as a starved rat. I can save nothing for my family on the 1200 they pay me for the laborious Command of this district. I could pick up as much by my pen in London with half the labour and no expense. I am not talking of poverty, as you

rich folks do; that is *relative* poverty; but *absolute poverty*. If I died tomorrow my wife would have about 250£ a year to live upon with our five children, with the confounded '*lady*' tacked to her which would be equal to another child! In such circumstances I have no choice and gulped down love of Brothers and Sisters and friends—and off I go to the tropics once more, with the firmness of a man whose life has been one of sharp trials but who has not yet flinched and who does not mean to do so now. I have for many years set this life at its just Value; with my eyes fixed upon that to which those I loved are gone, and to which those I love will go after me. And, therefore, the trials here are not so hard to bear: but I know not why I plague you with all this stuff when I only began about Business and to tell you that I am on the wing and shall in autumn have to leave this beautiful spot and wish you a more lucrative tenant, but not one more grateful for all your kindheartedness to the wandering soldier who thought he had done with war and yet may now possibly lead a body of British Soldiers over the Indus or the Hydaspes! As 30 years ago I did on the Banks of the Chesapeake!"

On relinquishing his tenancy of Calveley he wrote to Davenport of his prospects in India. "I never expect command even, that is to say *in chief*, and if they trust me with one, which there is no reason to think, God knows whether I am fit for the work. They have many a better man to confide in. That I shall make some money, I have no doubt. I am a *jew* in looks and nature (or worse, a Scotchman!) and shall come home, with a *big Liver*, a *big* purse, and a *small* Conscience, go to Cheltenham where I can imbibe *faith* and *Cheltenham salts*, to the full satisfaction of *Close*[1] and the *doctors* and die at the age of 90. . . . This is my perspective and not Victories in the Punjaub! But I should *like* to try my hand with a good handful of soldiers too, if so fate wills it; and come to a decent end on the field, by winding up six years Pagoda making with a bag of prize money; not as poor Gilespie did, by a shot; for I much prefer an orthodox death-bed; Parson on the one side, Doctor on the

[1] Francis Close, rector of Cheltenham, 1826-56, and later Dean of Carlisle, an evangelical divine and noted pamphleteer.

other, nurse at the foot. And as much Laudanum as may shove all recollection of my rascalities out of my head!"

He found the final preparations for the voyage to India distasteful and exasperating. He wrote from London, 26 September: "In truth I am so busy that I have scarcely time to think of ordinary matters, my whole mind being taken up with thinking of what I must take to India—such details are entirely adverse to my taste and habits and I am so at a loss how to set about them that I make no progress. I have got two coats made and ordered one pair of breeches; but that won't do for 5 years in India? All I know is, that I see a multitude of trunks unpacked, their lids open, their contents strewed about the floor, and I, bewildered in the middle of the confusion, hopeless, comfortless, and in a reverie from which I awake with a knock and 'Sir a *small* bill, the ge'man waits for an answer'—then I arise in my wrath, damn the whole world and all the bills in it, reform bill and all: in short I have every reasonable expectation of going to Bedlam unless I get to India very soon, and among other plagues is this d——d iron pen and greasy paper which my patience, not being at all of that stuff ascribed to Job, will not bear."

THE BATTLE OF MIANI.

Immediately after the battle of Miani Napier wrote a brief note to Davenport to be delivered by Major Outram, with whom he was on good terms at that time. The letter was dated 20 February 1843. "We have had a stiff fight—3½ hours within 2 yards of each other. *7 to 1* was great odds but my Glorious Officers and Soldiers did the job. This will be given you by my friend Outram, whose Gallant defence of the Residency for many hours (against 7,000 men and six guns) with *100* soldiers was magnificent. . . . As he goes to England *hot* from the field he will tell you all our proceedings, which I shall write to you when I have a moment to do so quietly. I promised you a letter from the Indus but till now I have had nothing worth telling you."

The first quiet moment apparently produced a letter which was lost in the Red Sea. On 12 October he wrote again, this time from "Kurrachee", giving further details: "I send you

by young Alcock a Belooch sword taken at Meeanee and *then* all bloody. They are nearly all alike. Hang it in your Hall as a trophy of one of the last Battles that will be fought in the *Ancient Style* with *Sword and Shield! It was a close and bloody fight.* How many of us escaped unwounded heaven only knows. It is utterly inconceivable. Neither I nor my horse were touched —not a scratch—a little singed by powder once or twice but untouched by weapon, and as during the whole fight I was never more than *18* and most of it about *6 yards* from the Belooch front rank and my staff going and coming, it is strange how we escaped! My Qr.Mr. Genl. had his horse killed and the A. Genl. was shot through the arm. Within a circle of 50 yards' radius from where we stood as a centre 400 dead bodies were counted. *Our own* dead had been removed when these were counted: *that* was a *thick crop!* This is fate or the duce [?] is in it!—My father's Sword was wounded by a ball in the Battle of Hydrabad and my horse grazed, but so slightly that I doubt its being a ball. Indeed, crossing those Nullahs would have bothered a *Leicester Huntsman* or any huntsman in England, even without the pleasant work that was spitting in one's face, but there was work in hand which ditches could not stop, and down we went into the Nullahs: this was bad enough, but how to *get up* on the other side was *worse?* However, we that were *light* drove our horses at it and the noble brutes put forth all their energy, as if they knew it must be done, and up they went. Young McMurdo of my staff went first; my active Arab dashed after him, and every moment I thought McMurdo and horse would be down backwards upon me. It was all but perpendicular. Lt. Brown, a fine handsome fellow, 14 stone weight, ran at it after us and his horse did it in spite of the load he carried! If when I go to England (?!) I am too poor to keep my little Arab horse, I will give him to you if you are rich! He is a nice beast and as quiet in fire as in his stable. So mind '*Red Rover*' will go to your gate some day when I am gone elsewhere, if my wife and daughters will let him go; but they won't while they have a smock on their backs!"

He also quoted an amusing personal incident: "Except [from] yourself and about 2 others (and Chancellor Raitt was

one) not a single letter did I receive that after the first half sheet of congratulations the other sides of two sheets were filled with the extraordinary virtues, ability, beauty and high qualities of a son or nephew or particular friend's son or nephew whom I ought immediately to put on my staff. The Gentlemen being nine times in ten a near approximation to the *Lout* Genus! A Lady whom I much like enclosed to me in her own agreeable letter (all ladies' letters are when one has time to read them!) a foolscap sheet *full*: from a father (a *general*) describing his son's delight at arriving in time for the Battle of Hydrabad, and to prove this, *long quotations* from young *lout's* '*animated description of the varying scenes of the Battle*' are sent me. This is very hard upon me, as my dear Mrs. —— ordered me to *read it twice through as I could not know anything myself of the fight*, and I had 56 other letters by the same mail, of which *50* were *double sheets* and dull 'à outrance'. But this pride in his '*brave son*' was awkward; for young bravery did not imagine *I* should see his letter, because he knew very well that he had *not been in the battle at all!* and that I had placed him on an especial guard on the gate of the Fortress 5 miles from the field!!! Now what I am to say to my friend about his young Lying Chap I do not know? He *is* a good officer and a spirited one too, but seems not to love truth. The fact is, that the number of *fiery Geniuses* and brilliant abilities collected under my command is, no doubt, the cause of the infernal heat of this Climate! As to me, I am fairly done up with hard work and had an apoplectic fit last June, the *invariable* result here of a 'coup de soleil'. *34* of us got a clink [?] from the brilliant Gentleman and *33* were dead within 3 hours, most of them within *ten* minutes, and the 34th unlucky white has the honour of now writing to you."

HIS DUTIES IN INDIA.

Napier's duties in his responsible position were heavy. This he makes clear in a letter of 20 September 1844. "I am sure you think me a very good-for-nothing fellow for I owe you two letters in answer to your two very agreeable ones; but, before you condemn me, listen what I have to do, and then accuse me of idleness if you have a rag of conscience left! In the first place, consider the

heat of this fiery land; that I am 62, that long ere the Eastern Sun saw me much work had been taken out of my old Carcas, and some blood too! That this Government is a despotism perforce; that I am everything; consequently look at my work for one day; and one is not to be distinguished from another. Take this day for a sample. Rose at 5; rode round cantonments till 7½; dressed, breakfast at 8, received 6 letters and 3 long trials of natives by Military Commission; each for murder and each containing about 20 or 30 sheets of fool's Cap, badly written, 3 lives depending on *one* and one life on each of the others. One cannot '*thumb over*' 60 or 80 sheets of fools Cap, and order 5 men to be hanged! Perhaps you think this work enough? No! Besides comes 125 pages of a Court of inquiry, on which depends the fate of a Lieut. Colonel Moseley, a respectable Gentleman whom I would hang *first* and read the inquiry into his Conduct *after* if I had *my will!*—Enough? No! Not yet. Some 'district Courts Marshal' on soldiers. Basta? No, my 6 letters to answer! Each requiring thought to decide. One of them, two sheets of fools Cap, of a quarrel between Sir Hugh Gough and myself, must refer to a dozen dates and read over several letters for reference! Come, this requires a tough stomach but I have not done *yet*. I have arrangements to make for moving three regiments—to prepare against Belooch '*raids*'—receive many people on public affairs and on their private affairs too; all important to them, and add more yet. I have 3 Collectors of revenue for all Sinde. Each has about 7 assistants. These are spread over the land and that I may know what they are at, I make each keep a diary containing the abstract of every letter he *receives* and *writes*. And at the end of the week these pour in. Each contains four, five or 6 sheets of fools Cap all horribly written. Then all the trials by these magistrates I read and often revise their Sentences. They try for minor offences not liable to death, which I only inflict for *murder*. Then I have to think of where I am morally and what should be done, and all sorts of details that are relating to trifling matters, but they must be done, and they take as much of my time as graver affairs. Now, my friend, tell me if I am *idle*? Add to all this work that I have not been well and, as *most* of us are, obliged

to pour quinine down my throat at every change of the moon to keep off fever and ague. Our bad months are come, but I trust we shall not have such a Season as last, when I had *12,000* men on their backs, helpless, at once, out of 17,000! And the remaining 5,000 hardly able to crawl about and Guard our stations! Heaven defend us from another such trial. We are yet all in health, the weather perfectly *heavenly*. My sickness, or rather ailing, is the tail of last year, and so with all those who came to us *this year* are all in health and in ecstacies with the climate. Well, good or bad, here I must remain while I am wanted and can do work, but I suffer from Dyspepsia sadly, produced by so much Confinement and writing. Now you see though I do get 7,000 a year I work hard for it and life ebbs fast. But I agree with Shakespear 'The time of life is short, But spend that shortness basely, 'twere too long' . . . I do want to keep Sinde peaceful and civilize her people if I can: or rather lay the foundation of reform, for my time is too short to do more. My first object is to get a good Controul [*sic*] of the waters, so as to be able to irrigate land at will; but not let nature inundate it at her pleasure. Then we shall see immense produce of everything. We have made great progress with the levels, and also made many banks, which have kept out the waters of the Indus from large tracts hitherto left waste. I have also made a canal of some 46 miles long which has irrigated above 100 square miles of country, hitherto waste. This will give a revenue of about 7,000£ next year.—The River inundates all the Country between Sukkur and Shikarpoor to the great unhealthiness of Shikarpoor. All is prepared and, when the waters subside, they shall never again flood that district, and I shall not only give health thereby to Shikarpoor, but all that tract is of the finest Garden ground and will yield an enormous Revenue. Slavery I have *fairly crushed*. Well, even these things are some use to Sinde, to recover the two bleedings the Ameers chose to give her at Meeanee and Hydrabad. I shall begin roads when we have finished our Barracks, but this is a long job, and to live in tents with the thermometer at *130°* is impossible for Europeans. Even the natives *wince*."

Napier resented the political intrigues at home of which he felt himself made both the plaything and the whipping-boy. He had, too, nothing but contempt for the civil administration in India, its rapacity and incapacity. After things had settled down he wrote from Karachi in a letter dated 21 June 1845:

COMMENTS ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

" . . . I know nothing about your English politics and I see you repay the compliment for you know nothing about ours! Lord Ellenborough's whole game was masterly. But for it, India I will not say was gone, but it would at this moment have been one field of Battle and the End no man living could prophesy. —You whigs always are on the side of tyranny; and ever true to your creed you take part with the Ameers. The Hypocrisy of the whigs was the cry, and I *think* a most just cry, among the radicals. Therefore, I as a radical expected that they would side with the Ameers. However, as I am very fond of my throat, which is an old friend, I objected to have it cut by Lord Aukland, for he, not Lord Ellenborough, placed us at Meeanee. Lord Ellenborough placed *me* there. Lord Aukland placed my troops there. And this is one cause (or rather one of the excuses) for abusing Lord Ellenborough. . . . From all this work of destruction to *life*, *honour*, *everything*, Lord Ellenborough saved India and into this abyss of misery to us all, wives, daughters, all, must we soldiers have abandoned to the care of chance, or, what is worse, the protection of civil servants of the state; ever ready to provoke war, but incapable of waging it when the storm comes. What these men *call* diplomacy, the first sweep of a Musselman's sword smashes to atoms. . . . I wish to God your damned old women in Leadenhead Street would give Sinde back to the Ameers. God forgive me for swearing, but it is too bad to see 100,000,000 ruled by such 'indiscreet' old ladies—happily the indiscretions of old women have not the same results as that of young ones, or the world would be peopled by idiots—it is of a piece with all their conduct to see the whigs joining in anything and everything against the tories—right or wrong, 'happy-go-lucky' is their war-hoop against the people of *England*. I am not a tory. I speak now as I did at Bath; only then I spoke from reading, now I see facts. I see them

'run a muck' at Lord E. for saving India from the results of their policy—and what can I think but that *party feeling* not *truth* is their guide? As long as Lord E. desires me to remain here I will stay, but not an hour longer. I have shortened my life by many years to do my duty to the Company for the pay I receive. I feel quits. I have, with the troops they entrusted to me, not only won for the Company a Country that in a few years will pay above a million Sterling into their coffers after paying the Cost of its Government—no! I am wrong—the moment the Civil Servants get hold of the Government they will so *raise the salaries* and so *multiply places and clerks* that the Revenue will melt away in Salaries! I have paid every civil expense and 2,000 horse and foot police and remitted 100,000 Sterling into the public treasury, and this in the midst of war and ignorance of the revenue and of the Country . . . and this is another of Lord Ellenborough's *Sins* in the eyes of E.I. Directors & whigs. He would not give this Government to *Bombay*. He threw it all into my hands; I might have done better, very likely; but had the Civilians of Bombay got hold of it, the devil a bit would it have paid 100,000£ into the treasury. As to *quiet*, heaven only can tell *that*. But *here*, where 3 years ago no traveller dared come without danger, you may take your Portmanteau, mount your Camel, and ride over all Sinde in safety—*at Bombay* under a *Civil Government* you are robbed in the Capital—murdered in the Capital, and dare not travel along the road unguarded by troops! . . . In short, the ignorance of what passes here and the folly of the doctrines set up by your good people in England give me such *utter disgust* with all public life that the day I leave it will be the happiest I have had for many a day. I do not know that I am of much use here. They say I am and while I am I am ready to stay. But when I can get away I shall have but one regret and that is leaving my daughters behind. However, I trust I shall not see another shot fired. I want if *I can* to improve the country and people of Sinde. I have already lightened the land of some part of the weight of taxation which crushes it, for I found everyone paying nearly $\frac{2}{3}$ of the produce to Government and the unfortunate Ryot living upon and paying all expenses of cultiva-

tion out of the remaining third! Such was the system of the '*dear Fallen Princes*', the '*patriarchal rulers*' as Outram called them! If I am to remain two years I think I shall produce a great change. I have already. The poor people from the neighbouring Countries are fast dropping into Sinde, where they feel safe from Robbers—in the days of the Ameers they *fled!* I believe our population has already encreased to a great amount. The town of Kurrachee has *doubled* nearly, they say, but I have made no census—I dare not try such a step with these wild people; they would take alarm directly. To rule them requires the greatest caution."

A RYLANDS ANTIPHONER. LATIN MS. 74.

Recent work on certain of our medieval liturgical manuscripts by Father John Morson, O.C.R., of Mount St. Bernard Abbey in Leicestershire, has thrown new light on Latin MS. 74. This volume, a thirteenth century antiphoner, had been considered by the late Dr. M. R. James as having been "written for a Cistercian house in the neighbourhood of Emilia (in Reggio), where St. Prosper was honoured". A further examination, however, has led Father Morson to doubt this ascription. We are indebted to him for the following summary account of his findings: "This very fine liturgical book was described by M. R. James in his catalogue of the Rylands manuscripts published in 1921. Because of two elaborate offices, of St. Bernard and St. Prosper, the author traced it to a Cistercian monastery and to the neighbourhood of Reggio, where, according to an apocryphal legend, St. Prosper had been bishop. W. H. Frere, in his *Bibliotheca musico-liturgica*, vol. 2, n. 641 (1932), followed M. R. James, recording this and no other as a Cistercian antiphoner extant in England, though professedly leaving aside British Museum manuscripts.

"In fact, Rylands MS. 74, cannot be Cistercian or even monastic. It has not the twelve-psalm-and-lesson office used by all monasteries of the West since the prevalence of St. Benedict's Rule, but the nine-psalm-and-lesson office used by secular clergy and non-monastic orders. Other arrangements, as of the psalms at Lauds, are non-monastic. There are hymns,

also psalmodic intonations and cadences, unknown to Cistercians. At the time of the book illuminating was forbidden to the followers of St. Bernard, and when there is so much decoration as here this alone is almost a decisive argument. The two feasts never on the Cistercian calendar, St. Prosper and the Ordination (i.e. Consecration) of St. Gregory, are not quite conclusive, since they could have been celebrated locally.

"The antiphoner is *Pars Aestivalis* only and records not the many feasts, even some of apostles, which used the *Commune Sanctorum*, but only those which had pieces proper to themselves. St. Francis and St. Dominic are absent and there is no feast which could point to any religious order. In the entirely un-Cistercian ceremony for Easter Sunday there is mention of a *prepositus*, which suggests a secular collegiate church.

"The office full of elaborate pieces honouring St. Prosper strongly favours Reggio, but the argument is not a very safe one. The Translation of St. Benedict would indicate Benedictine origin, the feast of St. Bernard Cistercian, yet these are impossible.

"At the end of the book is a note on the bottom margin: *M.D. xviii. / Restauratum die xxvii junii / tempore sani debuylonibus preposit(i) / sancte cecilie de urbe. Restauratum* probably means *rebound*. The year 1518 seems a probable date for the binding although it has received attention since then. M. R. James says that the book at some time passed to the possession of St. Cecilia in Trastevere. But since we have a feast of the Consecration of St. Gregory, suggesting Rome, we ask whether the book might have belonged to St. Cecilia, or at least to a church in Rome, from the beginning. The grant of the basilica to Benedictine nuns was made too late to have a bearing on this discussion. The date given by James and Frere is late thirteenth century. Corpus Christi is not in the book, but has some pieces added in a later hand on an additional sheet. If the book is Italian, especially if Roman, we should be disinclined to date it too long after the institution of the feast in 1264.

"But these few lines are only a correction. The writer must be allowed to pursue his examination of Cistercian antiphoners extant in England, seven or more, hoping that this of

Rylands may be within the field of some scholar who will give the thorough and positive treatment which it deserves."

PRINTED BOOKS: ACQUISITIONS BY PURCHASE.

During the latter part of 1953 book-purchase has been restricted, for the most part, to the acquisition of modern books necessary to keep the Library's various collections up-to-date; but it has also been possible materially to strengthen our collections of English books printed before 1700 and of the productions of private presses. Among *STC* items may be mentioned *Dreadfull newes . . . of the . . . earthquake . . . at Callabria.* J. Okes, 1638 (*STC* 19229), a contemporary account translated from an Italian original; Archbishop Usher's *An Answer to a challenge made by a Jesuite in Ireland*, Dublin, Society of Stationers, 1624 (*STC* 24542); and Nicolas Caussin's *The Holy Covrt, Tome I. Translated by T.H.* [*i.e. T. Hawkins*], which bears the imprint, *Paris*, 1626, but was probably printed at St. Omer (*STC* 4872). Another interesting *STC* item (No. 24574) *Foure Sea-Sermons Preached At the Annual Meeting of the Trinitie Companie in the Parish Church of Deptford. By Henry Valentine, Vicar*, M. Flesher, 1635, was acquired in a large collection of seventeenth and eighteenth century sermons.

Additions in the period covered by Wing's bibliography are more numerous and include a number of important books, e.g. the first Kuran in English, translated from Du Ryer's French version, 1649; *The Golden Remains of John Hales*, 1673; Thomas Hobbes, *De mirabilibus Pecci*, 1678, the first edition with the English translation; Charles Cotton's paraphrases of Lucian, *Burlesque upon burlesque*, 1678; and Sir William Petty, *Political Arithmetick*, 1691, the second issue of the first edition. From the collection of sermons previously mentioned 176 are printed before 1700, six being unrecorded and one being known from one other copy.

The Library's collection of the products of private presses is a strong one, particularly of the work of William Morris, Cobden Sanderson and St. John Hornby. There are still, however, many gaps, and during the last few months some of these have been filled by the purchase of examples of, *inter alia*,

the work of the Beaumont, High House, Raven and Tintern presses.

PRINTED BOOKS: RECENT GIFTS AND EXCHANGES.

In recent months some 50 individual donors have made valuable additions to our collections. Although all these gifts cannot be described in detail, several, by their importance, demand special mention. Sir Thomas Barlow, to whose generosity the Library has been indebted for earlier volumes of the Roxburghe Club, has presented the two most recent issues of the Club, *Twelve books in fine bindings from the Library of J. W. Hely-Hutchinson. Described and discussed by Howard M. Nixon*, and *French and Italian collectors and their bindings illustrated from examples in the Library of J. R. Abbey. By A. R. A. Hobson.* This gift is particularly valuable, as the Library possesses one of the finest sets in existence of the publications of the Club. Another finely printed gift was that of Messrs. Peter Spence & Sons, *The earliest chemical industry*, by Dr. Charles Singer, printed, to celebrate the firm's centenary, by the Chiswick Press, and bound by Messrs. Sangorski and Sutcliffe. Further gifts have also been received from Mr. R. Hawkin of York, and Mr. John Barlow of Borrowash. The former contains rare printed material on the history of Rossendale, a rare Manchester item, *Lectures delivered in Manchester by Robert Owen*, 1837, and a rare Whitby item, *Memoir of George Chambers, marine artist*, 1837. Mr. Barlow's gift consists of 22 volumes of topographical material relating, in the main, to the northern counties.

Further additions have been made to the list of institutions with which exchange agreements have been made, exchanges having been arranged with fourteen institutions in eight different countries. Among these are included universities and colleges in Aarhus, Bethel, Burgos, Johannesburg and Neuchâtel, and learned societies in Calcutta, Cracow and Washington. As so few of the earlier volumes of the BULLETIN are now available, such exchanges usually commence with the current volume, but we have received complete sets of the "Jahrbuch der Theologische Schule, Bethel", and of the Polish Oriental Society. Valuable gifts of books, many by way of exchange,

have been received from other institutions, amongst which may be mentioned the Manchester University Press, the University libraries of Groningen, Halle, Leiden, Louvain, and St. Domingo, the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, the Vatican Library and the Turkish Press Department. From the Ghent University library we received a most generous gift (76 vols.) of all the volumes still available of the publications of the Faculty of Philosophy.

During the second half of 1953 the following donors have made valuable gifts to the Library, and to them the Governors offer their grateful thanks :

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RECENT LIBRARY PUBLICATIONS.

The following is a list of recent Library publications, consisting of reprints of articles which appeared in the last issue of the BULLETIN (September 1953):

"A Manuscript in the Rylands Library and Flemish-Dutch and Low German Accounts of the Life and Miracles of Saint Barbara." By W. B. Lockwood, Lecture in German in the University of Birmingham. 8vo. pp. 15. Price two shillings net.

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THE INFLUENCE OF THE LOMBARD INVASIONS ON THE GREGORIAN SACRAMENTARY

By HENRY ASHWORTH, O.S.B.,
QUARR ABBEY, ISLE OF WIGHT

THE early history of the Service Books of the Western Church is still obscure. That some such compilations were in existence towards the end of the fourth century can be gathered from a few statements gleaned from patristic literature, and the somewhat laconic allusions of the *Liber Pontificalis*. We learn from St. Augustine,[1] and the Acts of certain African councils,[2] that such collections had been drawn up in the first instance, and authorized by the local Bishops, as a counter-measure to the many such productions emanating from heretical sects, which aimed at leading the simple faithful into error. The composition of a *Liber Sacramentorum* seems to have become a normal part of a bishop's work by the fifth century, for we find traces not only in Africa but also at Marseilles and Nola.[3] From such were evolved the official and authentic Church service books of the eighth and ninth centuries.

[1] *De Baptismo*, lib. vi. 25: "Multorum enim preces emendantur cotidie, si doctoribus fuerint recitatae, et multa in eis repperiuntur contra catholicam fidem . . . Multi quippe inruunt in preces non solum ab imperitis loquacibus, sed etiam ab haereticis compositas, et per ignorantiae simplicitatem non eas ualentes discernere utuntur eis arbitrantes quod bonae sunt."

[2] Council of Carthage, A.D. 407: "Placuit etiam hoc preces quae probatae fuerint in concilio, sive praefationes, sive commendationes, seu manus impositiones, ab omnibus celebrentur, nec aliae omnino contra fidem praeferantur: sed quaecumque a prudentibus fuerint collectae dicantur." (Mansi, *Sanctorum Conciliorum Collectio*, t. 3, col. 1163, cf. 807: Canon 193.)

An African Council of about the same date enacted: "Placuit etiam et illud, ut preces vel orationes seu missae quae probatae fuerint in concilio, sive praefationes sive commendationes, seu manus impositiones, ab omnibus celebrentur. Nec aliae omnino dicantur in ecclesia, nisi quae a prudentioribus tractatae vel comprobatae in synodo fuerint, ne forte aliquid contra fidem vel per ignorantiam, vel per minus studium sit compositum." (Ibid. t. 4, col. 330: Canon 12.)

[3] *Gennadius: Liber de Viris Illustribus* (edit. Carl. Albrecht Bernoulli, Leipzig, 1895) cap. lxxviii: "Boconius Castelli Mauritaniae oppidi episcopus . . . composuit etiam sacramentorum egregium libellum."

The author of the *Liber Pontificalis* gives us, in the notice concerning Pope Gelasius (492-496), the first indication of such activity at Rome. He credits Gelasius with the composition of *sacramentorum praefationes et orationes cauto sermone*,[1] though we have no such Roman document earlier than the end of the seventh century.

An authentic and unadulterated copy of the official Roman Sacramentary, sent by Hadrian I to the Emperor Charlemagne, reached Aix-la-Chapelle some time between A.D. 784-791.[2] This manuscript is no longer extant, and the earliest copy, that made in 812, for Hildoard, Bishop of Cambrai,[3] forms the basis of Lietzmann's edition of the Gregorian Sacramentary, and is used throughout this paper.[4]

The tradition is a venerable one which attributes to St. Gregory the composition of a sacramentary. The first links of the long chain of external evidence in favour of this tradition date from the days of Egbert of York (732-66). The words also of Pope Hadrian might bear the same sense. It is not, however, my intention to discuss this evidence here. My purpose is to show that the text of the Gregorian Sacramentary does in fact contain indications of the personal work of Pope

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Gennadius: Liber de Viris Illustribus lxxix: "Museus Massiliensis ecclesiae presbyter uir in diuinis scripturis doctus. . . . Sed et ad personam sancti Eusebii episcopi successoris supradicti hominis dei composuit sacramentorum egregium et non paruum uolumen per membra quidem opportunitate officiorum et temporum pro lectionum textu. . . ."

Ibid. xlviii: "Paulinus Nolae Campaniae episcopus . . . fecit et sacramentorum (opus) et hymnorum."

[1] Edited by Mgr. Duchesne, Paris, 1886, t. 1, p. 255.

[2] *Codex Carolinus, Epist.* 89. (Edit. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epist.*, t. 3, p. 626. This collection will be referred to hereinafter as M.G.H.) "De sacramentario uero a sancto disposito praedecessori nostro deifluo Gregorio papa: immixtum uobis emitteremus, iam pridem Paulus grammaticus a nobis eum pro uobis petente secundum sanctae nostrae ecclesiae traditionem, per Iohannem monachum atque abbatem civitatem Revannantium uestrae regali emisimus excellentiae."

[3] On the derivation of the text of Cambrai, see the convincing article of Professor Nigel J. Abercrombie: "Alcuin and the Text of the Gregorianum, Notes on Cambrai MS. No. 164" in *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft*, 1953, pp. 99-103.

[4] *Das Sacramentarium Gregorianum nach dem Aachener Urexemplar Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen*, Munster in Westf., 1921.

Gregory the Great. As Dom B. Capelle pointed out in 1937, a critical study of the text of the Sacramentary in the light of Gregory's writings, would reveal to what extent the *Hadrianum* represented the Sacramentary *a sancto Gregorio papa Romano editum*.[1]

* * *

It may be well, as a preliminary, to observe, with A. Chavasse,[2] that if the use of internal criticism, as a means of identifying the author, is always a delicate operation, it becomes doubly so when the document in question is a liturgical one. Because of the special character of Christian liturgical latin, arguments drawn from similarity of vocabulary, the use and paraphrase of Scripture, and a multitude of purely material parallels, must be used with great caution and extreme care, to carry conviction. The latin of the Roman Sacramentaries forms a language of its own. It is hieratic in character, traditional in style, and conservative in form, and consequently it restricts the original bent of an author's mind. Nevertheless, Chavasse remarks, " La pensée domine toujours ses moyens d'expression, et elle garde une suffisante indépendance à leur égard pour s'arracher, au moins en passant et sous l'appel de circonstances particulières, aux habitudes dont l'inertie entravait et canalisait ses propres démarches. Cette part, variable, d'activité créatrice permet à un auteur de mettre sa marque sur un langage reçu." [3]

And he points out how, even here, an author's characteristic expressions often reflect his reactions to the pressure of circumstances. An examination of the Gregorian Sacramentary along these lines has revealed some very interesting facts concerning the nature and scope of Gregory's liturgical reform. It would not be possible to give the full results within the limits of an article, but we can demonstrate, at least, that the text of the *Hadrianum* has been strongly marked by the stress and strain

[1] " La Main de Saint Grégoire dans le Sacramentaire Grégorien ", in *Revue Bénédictine*, t. 49 (1937), p. 28.

[2] " Messes du Pape Vigile dans le Sacramentaire Léonien ", in *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, vol. lxvi (1952), Fasc. II, p. 164.

[3] Art. cit. p. 165.

resulting from the violence of the storms Gregory was called upon to weather.

It will not be superfluous to recall the main facts of his pontificate. His reign began amidst unprecedented disasters for the city of Rome. In November 589 the Tiber had overflowed its banks and swept away some of the most ancient buildings. The carcases left in its wake, snakes, serpents, and other strange creatures, according to Gregory of Tours,[1] were perhaps not unconnected with the Great Plague which broke out in January 590. It was this which caused the death of Gregory's predecessor, Pelagius II. So terrible was this scourge (the deacon Agiulfus tells that the populace died in scores) that the new Pope instituted the sevenfold litany of intercession. The plague had hardly abated when danger threatened from another quarter. The Lombard pressure was now desperately strong, and the perils weighed heavily upon Gregory's mind. His writing is full of this danger.

The long struggle between the Lombards and Constantinople for the domination of Italy was nearing its climax. Rome and Naples, Ravenna and Genoa, with their surrounding territories, were still held by Imperial forces; but the only means of communication between Ravenna and Rome, between Pope and Exarch, the long *Via Flaminia*, had been cut by the occupation of Spoleto by the Lombard Duke Ariulfus. To the worry of this situation was added, for Gregory, the threat of mutiny amongst the soldiers in the city.[2] It is, he said, as if at the height of the storm, in some old ship far from port, the timbers revealed themselves rotten.[3]

Gregory's correspondence for the second year of his pontificate reveals how urgently he felt the dangers to be. He concerned himself with the details of the defensive campaign,

[1] *Historia Francorum*, lib. x, 1. M.G.H. *Script. Rerum Merovingicarum*, t. i.

[2] *Registrum Epistolarum*, i. 3 (Edit. Ewald-Hartmann, M.G.H.): "... quia hostilibus gladiis foris sine cessatione confodimur, sed seditione militum interno periculo gravius urgemur."

Ibid. i. 30: "... Quia sicut peccata mea merebantur, non Romanorum, sed Langobardorum episcopus factus sum."

[3] Ibid. i. 41: "Tantis quippe in hoc loco huius mundi fluctibus quatior, ut vetustem ac putrescentem navem, quam regendam occulta Dei dispensatione suscepi, ad portam dirigere nullatenus possim."

writing to the Commander Velox somewhere along the Flaminian Way, probably at Perugia.[1] The autumn and winter, nevertheless, brought no change in the situation. Spring of the following year, 592, brought rumours of a pending offensive under Duke Ariulfus. The Pope wrote to the chiefs Maurice and Vitalian, expressing his fears, and urging them to make a rear attack on Ariulfus' forces should he march on Rome.[2] Meanwhile he proceeded to provide for the worst and defend the city. He also sent a commander to defend Naples.[3] What today we call "the cold war" is a new label for a very old tactic, and about this time news reached Gregory, from no less reliable a source than Ariulfus himself, that the townsfolk of Sovana had as good as gone over to the Lombards. Gregory sent on this news to Maurice and Vitalian, urging that the townsfolk be secured in their allegiance to the Emperor.[4] Whether or not this piece of propaganda was intended to incline the Pope favourably to make terms, we find him occupied with the possibility of a peace treaty, or, at least, some kind of armistice. A letter to the Bishop of Ravenna argues the expediency of this, and asks him to make it clear to Romanus the Exarch: "Rome is garrisoned", he wrote, "by a handful of Theodosians, ready to mutiny at any moment because of arrears of pay. They will scarce do sentry duty on the walls."[5] Towards the end of July, 592, Gregory

[1] *Registrum Epistolarum*, ii. 7: "Nunc vero utile visum est ut aliquanti illic milites transmittantur, quos gloria tua admonere et hortari ut parati sint ad laborem studeat. Et occasione inventa cum gloriosis filiis nostris Martio et Vitaliano loquere et quaecumque vobis, Deo adiutore pro utilitate rei publicae steterint, facite. Et si hic vel ad Ravennates partes nec dicendum Ariulfum cognoveritis excurrere, vos a dorso eius ex laboris vestri qualitate amplius in re publica Deo auxiliante proficiat."

[2] Ibid. ii. 32: "Sed Aldio vir magnificus post adventum hominum vestrorum nobis scripsit, quia in proximo iam Ariulfus esset, et timuimus, ne milites qui ad vos diriguntur in manus eius inciderent. . . . Sed et gloria vestra, si huc perrexerit ipsa hostis, quomodo consuevistis cum auxilio Dei a dorso eius quod potestis perficite."

[3] Ibid. ii. 34.

[4] Ibid. ii. 33.

[5] Ibid. ii. 45: "Si quando tamen est aliquis locus optinendi, agat apud eum fraternitas vestra, ut pacem cum Ariulfo, si ad aliquid parum possumus, faciamus, quia miles de Romana urbe tultus est, sicut ipse novit. Theodosiaci vero, qui hic remanserunt, rogam non accipientes vix ad murorum quidem custodiam se accommodant, et destituta ab omnibus civitas, si pacem non habet, quomodo subsistet?"

and Ariulfus came to some sort of terms, at the expense of the papal treasury, as he pointed out later in a letter to the Emperor.[1]

It is difficult to be sure of the sequence of events here, as related by the old historians, but it seems that these successful negotiations excited the Exarch at Ravenna to great indignation. He accused Gregory of stupidity, even of treason, and proceeded to attack the Lombard forces all along the Flaminian Way. Sutri, Bomarzo, Orte, Todi, Amelia, Cantiano and Perugia all fell to him.[2] But his action brought the powerful Lombard Duke of Milan into the war, with the destruction of Rome as his avowed objective.[3] This was in 593. Gregory was commenting on Ezechiel when the news came that Agilulfus had crossed the Po, and the refugees began to stream into the city.[4] What followed is obscure,[5] but after many delays and long drawn out negotiations a peace was signed in the spring of 599. These events made a deep impression upon Gregory's mind, and he recalls them in a letter written shortly before his death.[6]

St. Gregory was much concerned with these events, and

[1] *Reg. Epist.* v. 36: "Si enim possum, has celeriter plagas enumero. Primum quod mihi pax sumpta est, quam cum Langobardis in Tuscia positis *sine ullo reipublicae dispendio* feceram."

[2] Ibid. v. 36: "Deinde CORRUPTA PACE de Romana civitate milites ablati sunt . . . et ut Perugia teneretur, Roma relicta est."

[3] The exact date of the siege of Rome by Agilulfus is a matter of controversy among scholars. Muratori (*Annali d'Italia*, t. 5), and Weise (*Italien und die Langobardenherrscher*, sect. vi-vii) and Hodgkin (*Italy and her Invaders*, vol. v, *The Lombard Invasion*, 2nd edition, Oxford University Press (1916), p. 368, n. 3) all agree that the most likely year is 593. Hartmann (*Reg. Epist.* i, p. 319, note on *Epist.* v. 36) argues from the fact that the correspondence of Gregory for the months of December 593, and January, February and March 594, is practically non-existent, that this period would be that of the siege. Such a theory, however, involves the difficulty of a Winter Campaign.

[4] *Reg. Epist.* v. 36: "Post hoc plaga gravior fuit adventus Agilulfi, ita ut oculis meis cernerem Romanos more canum in collis funibus ligatos, qui ad Franciam ducebantur venales."

In Ezech. II. hom. x. 24: "Alii detruncatis ad nos manibus redeunt, alii capti, alii interempti nuntiantur." Cf. ibid. II. hom. vi. 22.

[5] See the comments of Hodgkin on Gregory's correspondence of this period. Op. cit. pp. 385-6; p. 419, n.

[6] *Reg. Epist.* xiii. 41: "Qualiter enim quotidianis gladiis et quantis Langobardorum incursionibus ecce iam per triginta et quinque annorum longitudinem premimur, nullis explere suggestionis vocibus valemus."

their significance in the divine purpose. Much of his writing is an interpretation of the facts in the light of Revealed Truth. His thought is reflected not only in his letters and sermons but in his prayer. We come, now, to the immediate purpose of this article, which is to show in the text of the *Hadrianum* indications of the personal work of St. Gregory. I shall show that many of its prayer formularies reflect Gregory's thought even down to its verbal expression.

A term which is made to bear great weight in the writings of St. Gregory is the term *pondus*. It is a term we come across often enough in Christian tradition, but Dr. Max Walther[1] has shown that in Gregory's works it becomes significant to a quite exceptional degree. There is a Gregorian use of the term which is quite distinctive and unmistakable. Now this use we find in the prayer *formulae* of the *Hadrianum*, as a simple comparison will show :

Pondus peccatorum premere.
Pondus malorum grauare.
Pondus animaduersionis cognoscere.

Gregorian Sacramentary	Gregory[2]
H. 44/3. Sabb. in xii lect.	*Moral. xi. 28:*
1. Protector noster aspice deus ut QUI MALORUM NOSTRORUM PONDERE PREMIMUR, percepta misericordia libere tibi mente famulemur : per.	Et quia cum is QUI PECCATORUM SUORUM PONDERE PREMEBATUR ad rectitudinis statum ducitur. . . .
H. 89/7. Fer. II in Albis.	*In Ezech. II, hom. vii. 20:*
2. Concede quaesumus omnipotens deus, ut QUI PECCATORUM NOSTRORUM PONDERE PREMIMUR, ACUNCTIS MALIS IMMINENTIBUS per haec paschalia festa LIBEREMUR : per.	Et si cum mala heabemus, bonorum reminiscimur, quae aut iam accepimus, aut adhuc nos posse accipere speramus, MALORUM PONDUS animum in desperationem non *deprimit*, quia hunc ad spem memoria bonorum levat.

[1] *Pondus, Dispensatio, Dispositio, Werthistorische Untersuchungen zur Frömmigkeit Papst Gregors des Grossen*, Kriens, 1941.

[2] The Gregorian Sacramentary is cited according to the edition of H. Lietzmann. Cf. supra. The quotations from Gregory's works are given according to the Maurist edition of 1705, except the Correspondence which is cited according to the edition Ewald-Hartmann (M.G.H.). Parallels are indicated by the use of capital letters.

In Euang. II, hom. xxxvi. 2:
De quo uidelicet ordine quamuis adhuc indigni existimus, quamuis PECCATORUM NOSTRORUM PONDERE GRAUAMUR. . . . .
Moral. xv. 38:
Qui enim summa cogitare dum uiueret noluit, PECCATORUM SUORUM PONDERE *depressus*, a facie iudicis in ima suppliciorum cadet.

H. 100/2. Laetania Maiore
3. Deus QUI CULPAS DELINQUENTIUM DISTRICTE FERIENDO PERCUTIS, FLETUS QUOQUE LUGENTIUM NON RECUSES, UT QUI PONDUS TUAE ANIMADUERSIONIS COGNOUIMUS, etiam pietatis gratiam sentiamus: per.

Moral. vii. 55:
CULPAS quippe DELINQUENTIUM etsi ex alto increpantes FERIUNT, semetipsos apud se subtilius iudicantes, quasi in abiectis ponunt.

Moral. xx. 64:
Crudelis quippe dicitur, QUI DISTRICTE FERIENDO NON PARCIT, ut uidelicet hoc loco crudelis DISTRICTE FERIENS possit intelligi ulciscendae culpae non parcens.
. . .
Moral. xxxiv. 23:
Quasi stipulam aestimabit malleum. Ac si diceret etiam PONDUS EIUS ANIMADUERSIONIS despicit, quae se per supplicium desuper ueniens FERIT. In Scriptura enim sacra mallei nomine aliquando diabolus designatur, per quem nunc DELINQUENTIUM CULPAE FERIUNTUR: aliquando vero PERCUSSIO CAELESTIS accipitur, qua vel electi supernos ictus sentiunt, ut a prauis itineribus corrigantur, uel iusta ira reprobos PERCUTIT, ut iam supplicia aeterna praeueniens, quid etiam in posterum mereantur, ostendat.
Moral. ix. 85:
Iste se in dolore deprimit: sed tamen A PONDERE AETERNAE ANIMADUERSIONIS abscondit.

Moral. xiii. 30:
Qui autem DIUINA ANIMADUERSIONE PERCUTITUR, dum nouit quidem quia uapulat, sed cur uapulet, ignorat.

During the pontificate of Pope Vigilius (537-55), the Romans, exposed to similar dangers, had refused to fight, because they were convinced that they had committed no sin which deserved such punishment.[1] Whether or not a similar attitude of mind prevailed amongst the Romans of Gregory's day cannot be ascertained, but the Gregorian Sacramentary has preserved a series of prayers, which proclaim in strong terms that the woes then being endured by Rome are a just retribution for sin.[2] It

[1] See A. Chavasse, art. cit. pp. 173.

[2] A notable case is that of the collect of Septuagesima Sunday. The first indication of the existence of this Sunday at Rome is the rubric attached to homily 19 of St. Gregory's Homilies on the Gospel: *Habita ad populum in Basilica beati Laurentii martyris, Dominica in Septuagesima.* The next is the *Comes* of Würtzburg, a Lectionary which witnesses to the Roman liturgical usage of the first quarter of the seventh century (cf. Dom G. Morin, *Rev. Bened.* (27), 1910). The authenticity of this rubric, but not that of the homily, nor of the station, has recently been rejected by A. Chavasse (*Recherches de Science Religieuse*, t. xxxvii, 1950, p. 143 ff.). He suggests that the Homily in question was preached on the feast of St. Laurence (10 August, presumably in 595, but this is not very clear), and quotes to support his opinion the following words: "Praesenti anno . . . Mense nuper elapso . . . Atque a tempore illo nuncusque . . ." I must admit that I find it hard to follow Chavasse's interpretation of this passage, and in order to elucidate the problem I beg to quote more fully. In his homily Gregory cites the following example of the mercy of God: "Rem, fratres, quae nuper contigit refero . . . Praesenti anno in monasterio meo . . . frater quidem ad conversionem venit." He goes on to relate how a brother of the above monk was also received into his monastery, and lived a very ungodly life until: "Mense autem Iulio nuper elapso, huius quam nostis pestilentiae clade percussus est: qui ad extremum veniens, urgeri coepit ut animam redderet." The monk in question, at death's door, perceives a dragon ready to devour him, but delivered by the prayer of the brethren, recovers sufficiently to live a more godly life: "Mox autem serviturum se Deo et esse monachum devovit; atque a tempore illo nuncusque febribus premitur, doloribus fatigatur." Now the salient features of this passage are these: (1) the monk is struck down by the *plague;* (2) this happened in July; (3) in the year when the homily was preached. Have we any means of being more precise? It so happens that Gregory relates the above story on two other occasions. Homily 38. 16, on the Gospels: "Ante biennium frater quidem. . . . In hac autem pestilentia, quae nuper huius urbis populum magna ex parte consumpsit, percussus in inguine, perductus est ad mortem." *Dialogues*, iv. 38: "In hac autem pestilentia, quae

will be remarked how much the style of these prayers differs from those attributed by Chavasse to Pope Vigilius. Here is found the characteristic antithetical construction so much used by Gregory:

ut qui iuste . . . affligimur
misericorditer liberemur.

Gregorian Sacramentary	Gregory
H. 32/1. In Septuagesima. Cf. H. 44/5. Sab. in xii lect.	*In Euang. II, hom. xxxiii. 8 :*
4. Preces populi tui quaesumus domine clementer exaudi, UT QUI IUSTE PRO PECCATIS NOSTRIS AFFLIGIMUR, pro tui nominis gloria MISERICORDITER LIBEREMUR: per.	Inflexit ad misericordiam duritiam Legis: quia QUOS IUSTE illa damnat, ipse MISERICORDITER LIBERAT. *Reg. Epist. x. 12 :* Sed quia in summa tribulatione positis sola est consolatio misericordia Creatoris, in eum spem uestram ponite, ad ipsumque tota vos mente convertite, qui et IUSTE quem uult permittit AFFLIGI, et confidentem in se MISERICORDITER LIBERABIT. *Reg. Epist. ii. 2 :* Considerare etenim conuenit dilectissimi, quam variis continuisque calamitatibus PRO NOSTRIS CULPIS ATQUE OFFENSIONIBUS AFFLIGAMUR.

nuper huius urbis populum magna ex parte consumpsit, percussus in inguine, perductus est ad mortem." Now we know that the plague raged in Rome from January 590-August of the same year, at least it had abated sufficiently to permit Gregory's consecration on 3 September. From Homily 38, we learn that the incident took place *ante biennium*. It is generally admitted that the Homilies on the Gospel were preached during the years 591-2, for they were revised and published by Gregory in 593. Thus Homily 38 was preached towards the end of 592 *in basilica beati Clementis martyris*. The phrase *ante biennium* describes perfectly the incident of July 590. What is the meaning of *praesenti anno* and *nuper*? The term *nuper* is ordinarily used to describe an event after a certain lapse of time, and it is well known that the Romans dated their year from March to March. Thus the most natural explanation of the facts is that Homily 19 was pronounced in the early part of the year 591, most probably for Septuagesima Sunday, which would have been that year on 11 February. This conclusion is confirmed by the evidence of the Sacramentary, wherein the collects for Septuagesima, Sexagesima and Quinquagesima Sundays form a *bloc* being composed by Gregory during the Lombard invasions.

H. 76/1. Feria IV, Hebd. vi.

5. Praesta quaesumus omnipotens deus, UT QUI NOSTRIS EXCESSIBUS INCESSANTER AFFLINGIMUR, per unigeniti tui passionem LIBEREMUR : per.

Reg. Epist. ii. 2 :

Solemnitas annuae deuotionis, filii dilectissimi, nos admonet, ut laetaniam quae maior ab omnibus appellatur sollicitis ac deuotis debeamus auxiliante Domino mentibus celebrare, per quam A NOSTRIS EXCESSIBUS EIUS MISERICORDIAE supplicantes *purgari* aliquatenus mereamur.

If, however, God is visiting his people with such trials, it is in order to correct them, to purify them ; they are a manifestation of His love and mercy. Let the people correspond with signs of true repentance, and they will quickly experience the joy of God's consolation. These ideas are expressed by Gregory thus :

uerberibus percuti,
consolatione gaudere,
gaudio consolari,

mala quae fecimus flere,
consolationis gratiam invenire,
sustinere.

Gregorian Sacramentary

H. 100/4. Laetania Maiore.

6. Deus qui CULPAS NOSTRAS PIIS UERBERIBUS PERICUTIS, UT NOS A NOSTRIS INIQUITATIBUS EMUNDES, da nobis et DE UERBERE TUO proficere, et DE TUA CITIUS CONSOLATIONE GAUDERE : per.

Gregory

Moral. xxi. 8:

Transitorio autem UERBERE AFFLIGANTUR electi, UT A PRAUITATE FLAGELLA CORRIGANT, quos PATERNA PIETAS ad haereditatem seruat. Nunc etenim FLAGELLATUR iustus, et UERBERE disciplinae CORRIGITUR : quia ad aeternae hereditatis patrimonium praeparatur.

Moral. iv. 71:

Sed huic domino contradicimus . . . cum CULPAM poenitendo PERCUTIMUS, et maculas sordium fletibus lauamus.

Moral. xxiv. 31:

Sed quia misericors Deus probari nos permittit tentationibus, non reprobari . . . CITIUS NOBIS CONSOLATIONIS ope SUCCURRIT.

H. 65/4. Sabb. in Quad. Hebd. v.

7. Deus qui sperantibus in te misereri potius eligis quam irasci: da nobis DIGNE FLERE MALA QUAE FECIMUS, UT TUAE CONSOLATIONIS GRATIAM inuenire ualeamus: per.

Moral. ix. 94:

Tunc igitur ad plangendum dolorem nos Dominus dimittit, cum et MALA QUAE FECIMUS, demonstrat: atque AD HAEC EADEM FLENDA quae cognoscimus, adiuuat.

Moral. ix. 102:

Sicut ergo electis ignis ardere nouit ad solatium . . . ita e diuerso gehennae flamma reprobis et nequaquam lucet AD CONSOLATIONIS GRATIAM. . . .

Moral. xii. 21:

Cum uero pro MALIS QUAE FECIMUS, disciplinae flagello atterimur, et haec per paenitentiam DEFLEMUS, iniquitatem nostram signat et curat.

Moral. xii. 19:

Pensat Deus MALA QUAE FACIMUS, et tamen *per benignitatis suae gratiam ea misericorditer relaxat.*

Moral. xxxiii. 23:

Relaxat enim Deus facinus quod defletur, sed perpetrare quisque timeat quod SI DIGNE FLERE POSSIT ignorat.

In Euang. I, hom. xii. 6:

Ecce hunc ipsum diem, in quo loquimur, ad inducias conuersionis accepimus, et tamen MALA QUAE FECIMUS, FLERE RECUSAMUS.

In Ezech. I, hom. ix. 35:

Quid, igitur, fratres, quid agendum est miseris nobis, nisi ut euigilemus ad huius uerba uoluminis, et MALA QUAE NOS EGISSE MEMINIMUS, FLETIBUS PUNIAMUS.

Oratio de Mortalitate:

. . . qui simul omnes peccauimus, simul omnes MALA QUAE FECIMUS DEPLOREMUS: ut districtus index dum *culpas nostras nos punire considerat*, ipse a sententia propositae damnationis parcat.

Moral. xxvi. 36:
Sed ecce dum nos affligimur, dum CONSOLATIONIS GRATIAM longanimiter *sustinemus*, mali ad peiora prorumpunt.

Gregorian Sacramentary
H. 59/1. Die Dom. Hebd. iv.

8. Concede quaesumus omnipotens deus UT QUI EX MERITO NOSTRAE ACTIONIS AFFLIGIMUR, TUAE GRATIAE CONSOLATIONE RESPIREMUS : per.

Gregory
Moral. xxvi. 43:
. . . coram districto iudice OMNE MERITUM NOSTRAE ACTIONIS extinguitur.

Moral. xxvi. 36:
Sed ecce dum NOS AFFLIGIMUR, dum CONSOLATIONIS GRATIAM longanimiter sustinemus, mali ad peiora prorumpunt.
Moral. iv. 10:
Sed post hoc amaritudine inuoluitur ; quia EX MERITO spontaneae caliginis, aeternae gehennae tormento cruciatur.
Moral. iv. 54:
. . . atque EX MERITO liberi arbitrii beatitudinem illius regionis attingeret, in qua uel peccare, uel mori non posset.
Moral. ix. 73:
Quo enim nemo est qui animaduersionem tuam EX MERITO suae uirtutis retineat, eo a se facilius tua pietas exigat ut parcat.

Gregorian Sacramentary
H. 74/1. Fer. II, Hebd. vi.

9. Da quaesumus omnipotens deus, UT QUI IN TOT ADUERSIS EX NOSTRA INFIRMITATE DEFICIMUS, intercedente unigeniti filii tui passione RESPIREMUS : per.

Gregory
Reg. Epist. v. 53a:
Quod tanto nunc durius tolero, quanto me ei imparem sentiens, in nulla fiduciae CONSOLATIONE RESPIRO.

Ibid. cap. 5:
Interque haec dum sollicitus penso, quia Scriptura teste, omnis filius qui a Deo accipitur, flagellatur ; quo MALIS PRAESENTIBUS DURIUS DEPRIMOR, eo de aeterna certius praesumptione RESPIRO.

Moral. xiv. 39 :
Nam cum TANTA NOS AFFLICTIO DEPRIMIT UT NULLIUS REI CONSOLATIONE RESPIRARE animus possit, NON IAM FLAGELLIS SOLUMMODO FERIMUR, *sed etiam cingimur, quia tribulationum uerbere ex omni parte circumdamur.*
Moral. ii. 23 :
Pia etenim mens, cum se ADUERSA ab hominibus perpeti conspicit, IN DIUINAE GRATIAE CONSOLATIONE requiescit.
Reg. Epist. i. 30 :
Gemo quotidie occupationibus pressus, et RESPIRARE non ualeo.

The following series of prayers is remarkable for its insistence on the stress through which Gregory and his flock were passing. Such formularies as " Deus qui conspicis " are to be found in no earlier Sacramentary; they form in themselves a new style of prayer, proper to the Gregorian and proper to Gregory.

Gregorian Sacramentary	Gregory
H. 33/1. In Sexagesima.	*Moral. xvii. 34:*
10. DEUS QUI CONSPICIS QUIA EX NULLA NOSTRA ACTIONE CONFIDIMUS : concede propitius, UT CONTRA ADUERSA OMNIA doctoris gentium PROTECTIONE MUNIAMUR : per.	Sed tamen Omnipotenti Deo suppetit, etiam uasa diaboli cunctis uirtutibus uacua, suae gratiae munere implere, in eisque diuini timoris soliditatem ponere, quos NULLA CONSPICIT rectitudinis ACTIONE roborari.
	Moral. xvi. 64:
	Hi itaque qui DE NULLO SUO OPERE CONFIDUNT, *ad Sanctorum martyrum* PROTECTIONEM currunt, atque ad sacra eorum corpora fletibus insistunt, promereri se ueniam, eis intercedentibus, deprecantur.
	In Euang. II, hom. xxxviii. 15:
	Haec ergo dixi, ne quis in bono iam opere positus, sibi vires boni operis tribuat, ne quis DE PROPRIA ACTIONE CONFIDAT : quia etsi iam nouit hodie qualis sit, adhuc cras quid fururus sit nescit.

H. 138/1. Nat. S. Xysti Episcopi. Cf. H. 177/1. Nat. S. Martini.

11. DEUS QUI CONSPICIS QUIA EX NULLA NOSTRA UIRTUTE SUBSISTIMUS, concede propitius, ut intercessione beati Xysti martyris tui atque pontificis CONTRA OMNIA ADUERSA MUNIAMUR: per.

Reg. Epist. xi. 23:
Sed QUIA IN NULLA *desperatione* de Redemptoris nostri est misericordia diffidendum . . . spem uestram in omnipotentis Dei manu ponite: et IN IPSIUS PROTECTIONE CONFIDIMUS, quia ab omni uos aduersitate custodiat.

Reg. Epist. xi. 43:
Clauim uero a sacratissimo beati Petri corpore, in qua de catenis eius benedictio continetur, transmisimus, quae collo uestro suspensa CONTRA OMNIA ADUERSA UOS MUNIAT.
Reg. Epist. ix. 175:
Sed si mihi orationis uestrae opem impenditis, credo quod me CONTRA ADUERSA OMNIA fortiter iuuetis.

Gregorian Sacramentary

H. 90/6. Fer. III in Albis.

12. DEUS QUI CONSPICIS familiam tuam *omni humana uirtute destitui*, paschali interueniente festiuitate, TUI EAM BRACHII PROTECTIONE CUSTODI: per.

Gregory

Reg. Epist. viii. 22:
Omnipotens DEUS, QUI debilitatem corporis uestri et peregrinationem uestram CONSPICIT, de sua semper gratia consoletur.

Reg. Epist. ix. 230:
Omnipoteus DEUS CAELESTIS UOS BRACHII PROTECTIONE tuetatur, et post longa annorum curricula inter angelos esse concedat.
Reg. Epist. i. 22:
Unde Omnipotentem Dominum deprecor, ut SUA UOS PROTECTIONE CUSTODIAT.
Reg. Epist. viii. 4:
Omnipotens Deus SUA UOS PROTECTIONE CUSTODIAT atque a perfidis gentibus regnum uestrum SUI EXTENSIONE BRACHII *defendat.*
Reg. Epist. v. 16:
. . . omnipotentem Dominum deprecamur, ut caritatem uestram sicut sua gratia elegit, ita in omnibus SUA PROTECTIONE CUSTODIAT.

Reg. Epist., v. 40 :
Omnipotens autem Deus, in quocumque loco uos esse uoluerit, SUA PROTECTIONE CUSTODIAT, et ad caelestia dona perducat.

The intervention of God is normally symbolized by such terms as : *potentiae tuae dextera, tua dextera protegente*, as in those prayers composed by Pope Vigilius.[1] Gregory prefers the term : *tui brachii protectione*, as in the above *formula* (No. 12), or that of *tuae maiestatis dexteram* of the following, all equally of Scriptural inspiration :

Gregorian Sacramentary	Gregory
H. 41/1. Feria IIII Quad. Hebd. i	
13. Preces nostras quaesumus domine clementer exaudi, et CONTRA CUNCTA NOBIS ADUERSANTIA DEXTERAM TUAE MAIESTATIS EXTENDE : per.	*Reg. Epist. v. 39:* Omnipotens Deus, qui Pietatis uestrae cor SUAE DEXTERA MAIESTATIS tenet, et nos ex uobis protegat. . . .
H. 44/6. Sabb. in xii lect. Cf. H. 52/1. Die Dominica	*Reg. Epist. xiii. 26:*
14. Quaesumus omnipotens deus uota humilium respice, atque AD DEFENSIONEM NOSTRAM DEXTERAM TUAE MAIESTATIS EXTENDE : per.	. . . ideo Creatorem omnium exoro, ut ubicumque fueritis, SUAE UOS DEXTERAE EXTENSIONE PROTEGAT, atque a malis omnibus conseruet.

The following series of prayer formularies depicts vividly the stress and strain of the times ; such phrases as : *ab omni aduersitate custodi, contra omnia aduersa muniamur, a cunctis malis imminentibus*, would be commonplace and hardly worthy of note, if it were not for their frequency both in the Gregorian Sacramentary and Gregory's correspondence.

Gregorian Sacramentary	Gregory
H. 29/1. Nat. S. Ualentini. Cf. H. 103/1 ; 106/1 ; 121/1 ; 168/1.	*Moral. ii. 78 :*
15. Praesta quaesumus omnipotens deus, ut qui beati Ualentini martyris tui natalicia colimus, A CUNCTIS MALIS IMMINENTIBUS eius intercessione LIBEREMUR : per.	. . . fit plerumque, ut irruente tentationis articulo tanta stultitia sapientiam nostram feriat, ut turbata mens, qualiter MALIS IMMINENTIBUS obuiet, uel contra tentationem quomodo se praeparet, ignoret.

[1] Chavasse, art. cit. p. 185.

Moral. v. 81:
Nam qui MALA IMMINENTIA per sollicitudinem praenotat, hostiles incursus quasi in insidiis uigilans expectat. . . .
In Euang. II, hom. xxxix. 1:
Si enim cordis eius oculis MALA QUAE IMMINERENT abscondita non essent, laeta in praesentibus prosperis non fuisset.

H. 25/3. Nát. S. Uincenti.
Cf. H. 34/3 ; 105/3 ; 124/3; 173/3.

16. Quaesumus omnipotens deus, ut qui CAELESTIA ALIMENTA PERCEPIMUS, intercedente beato Uincentio martyre tuo, per haec CONTRA OMNIA ADUERSA MUNIAMUR : per.

Moral. xxvii. 22:
Quid Paulus, quid Iohannes per epistolas loquentes operantur, nisi ut mentes nostrae CAELESTIA ALIMENTA PERCIPIANT, et inediae suae fastidium quo moriebantur, uincant?
Reg. Epist. i. 24:
. . . in utroque humero sacerdos uelamine superhumeralis adstringitur, UT CONTRA ADUERSA et prospera uirtutum semper ornamento MUNIATUR.
Reg. Epist. xi. 43:
Clauim uero a sacratissimo beati Petri corpore, in qua de catenis eius benedictio continetur, transmisimus, quae collo uestro suspensa CONTRA OMNIA ADUERSA UOS MUNIAT.

H. 34/1. In Quinquagesima.

17. Preces nostras quaesumus domine clementer exaudi, atque A PECCATORUM UINCULIS ABSOLUTOS AB OMNI NOS ADUERSITATE CUSTODI : per.

Moral. iv. 68:
Contempletur, quod cunctis simul corruptionis suae UINCULIS ABSOLUTI, ad illa libertatis gaudia incorrupta perueniant.

Moral. xxiv. 26:
Sed quia diuina gratia . . . ruptis PECCATORUM NOSTRORUM UINCULIS citius nos ad liberatatem nouae conuersationis consolando perducit.
Reg. Epist. v. 39:
Nec dubium est PECCATORUM UINCULIS SOLUTOS, aeterna uos bona recipere qui in causis eius

Ecclesiae ipsum uobis cui potestas ligandi et soluendi data est, debitorem fecistis.

Reg. Epist. vi. 58:

Omnipotens autem Deus . . . in suo seruitio uos protegat, atque AB OMNI ADUERSITATE interius exteriusque CUSTODIAT.

Reg. Epist. ix. 179:

Omnipotentis Dei gratia . . . AB OMNI TE ADUERSITATE CUSTODIT.

Reg. Epist. xi. 23:

Spem uestram in omnipotentis Dei manu ponite: et in ipsius protectione confidimus, quia et AB OMNI UOS ADUERSITATE CUSTODIT.

Reg. Epist. ix. 153:

Omnipotens Deus sua uos protectione cum filiis et omni domo uestra AB OMNI ADUERSITATE tueatur atque CUSTODIAT.

Gregorian Sacramentary	Gregory
H. 44/1. Sabb. in xii lect.	
18. Populum tuum domine quaesumus propitius respice, atque ab eo FLAGELLA TUAE IRACUNDIAE CLEMENTER AUERTE: per.	
H. 44/2. Ibid.	
19. Deus qui NOS IN TANTIS PERICULIS CONSTITUTOS pro humana scis fragilitate non posse subsistere: da nobis salutem mentis et corporis, UT EA QUAE PRO PECCATIS NOSTRIS PATIMUR, te adiuuante UINCAMUS: per.	*Moral. iii. 42:* Sancta itaque Ecclesia omni hoc tempore peregrinationis suae IN AFFLICTIONE CONSTITUTA cum uulnera sustinet. . . .
	Moral. xiii. 5: Consolamur uero prauos IN FLAGELLIS CONSTITUTOS, cum de exteriore percussione interiorem in eis conualescere salutem indicamus.
	In Ezech. II, hom. x. 24: Nemo autem me reprehendat, si post hanc locutionem cessauero: quia sicut omnes cernitis, *nostrae*

tribulationes excreuerunt undique gladiis circumfusi sumus, undique imminens mortis periculum timemus. Quid restat nisi ut INTER FLAGELLA QUAE EX NOSTRIS INIQUITATIBUS PATIMUR, cum lacrimis gratias agamus?

Moral. xxvi. 22:

Grauem igitur de uita eius calumniam sustinemus, quia nimirum intus PATIMUR quod cum labore UINCAMUS.

H. 190/1. In Aduentu. Hebd. III, Fer. vi.

20. Excita quaesumus domine potentiam tuam et ueni, ut hi qui IN TUA PIETATE CONFIDUNT, AB OMNI CITIUS ADUERSITATE LIBERENTUR: per.

Reg. Epist. xi. 23:

Sed quia in nulla desperatione de redemptoris nostris est misericordia diffidendum, animos uestros ad consolationem patris erigite, spem uestram in omnipotentis manu ponite, et IN IPSIUS PROTECTIONE CONFIDIMUS, quia et AB OMNI UOS ADUERSITATE *custodit.*

Reg. Epist. x. 12:

Sed quia in summa tribulatione positis, sola est consolatio misericordia Creatoris, in eum spem uestram ponite, ad ipsum tota uos mente conuertite, qui et iuste quem uult permittit affligi et CONFIDENTEM IN SE MISERICORDITER LIBERABIT.

Reg. Epist. viii. 2:

Rogo autem ut pro mei cordis infirmitate enixius oretis, quatenus omnipotens Deus mentem meam A MALIS OMNIBUS pro uestra intercessione tueatur et CITIUS *me de tot procellis huius tempestatis eripi*at, atque in aeternae quietis litore perducat. . . .

Reg. Epist. viii. 28:

. . . petimus ut beatitudo uestra pro nobis orare dignetur, quatenus A MALIS PRAESENTIBUS mereamur CITIUS *eripi*, et a futuris gaudiis non excludi.

Finally, in the Pope's homilies on Ezechiel we have this doctrine in pastoral form as preached by the pastor to his flock. Preached in Rome's darkest hour, they reflect the events as Gregory saw them. To what heights of sanctity he strives to lead his flock, speaking as to those who would find his call commonplace, and follow quite naturally and easily. The trials being endured are vividly depicted.[1] The preacher exhorts to penance and a return to God, a recognition that presents evils are but His merciful correction. Prayer and penance are not enough, the true Christian is humble in prosperity, strong in adversity; this humble confidence stays the soul, keeping it from despair amidst present trials, enabling it to remain so serene and calm that it neither dreads adversity, nor is solicitous for prosperity, but rather gives thanks amidst the evils it endures.[2] This teaching Gregory also included in his Sacramentary. It will be noted how he prays for humility in prosperity, and TRANQUILLITY in adversity. This concept of tranquillity

[1] In Ezech. I, hom. ix. 9: "Nobis hoc nobis aperte dicitur, qui afflicti, obsessi, conclusi, omnia quae in hoc mundo habuimus bona perdidimus. Urbes erutas, euersa castra, depopulatos agros, suffosas Ecclesias uidimus: et tamen adhuc parentes nostros ad iniquitates sequimur, ab eorum elatione quam uidimus, non mutamur. Et illi quidem inter gaudia nos uero quod est grauius, inter flagella peccauimus. Sed ecce omnipotens Deus iniquitates iudicans, iam priores nostros abstulit, iam ad iudicium uocauit. Nos adhuc ad poenitentiam expectat, nos ad reuertendum sustinet."

[2] In Ezech. II, hom. vii. 15: "Non hunc ADUERSA FRANGEBANT, NON PROSPERA in mentis tumorem subleuabant. Hinc inde ergo gestabat palmam, quia IN ADUERSITATE FORTIS, et IN PROSPERITATE HUMILIS permanebat. Quisquis enim DE PROSPERIS EXTOLLITUR, habere in dextera parte palmam nescit. Quisquis IN ADUERSITATIBUS FRANGITUR, portare palmam a sinistro latere ignorat. Ut ergo hinc et inde palma gestatur in fronte, adesse semper nostris mentibus debet et IN ADUERSIS FIDUCIA, et IN PROSPERIS timor: ne aut ADUERSA in desperationem pertrahant, aut PROSPERA animum in sui fiduciam extollant."

In Ezech. II, hom. ii. 6: ". . . quid nobis aliud his exemplis (Dominus) innuens nisi ut debeamus HUIUS MUNDI ET ADUERSA NON METUERE, ET PROSPERA UITARE? quia plus plerumque eius bona occupant animam, quam mala perturbant."

In Ezech. II, hom. ii. 3: "Aquas quippe Deo mensura appendere, est INTER PROSPERA ET ADUERSA, inter dona et tentationes, inter summa et infima animarum sensum HUMILITER custodire."

In Ezech. II, hom. vii. 17: "Discamus itaque fratres, NON SOLUM IN PROSPERIS, SED IN ADUERSIS QUOQUE GRATIAS AGERE."

includes not only temporal material security, but the security of a good conscience, secure in the knowledge that it has abandoned itself to God, the loving Father, and that nothing can hurt it. This is the very note on which Gregory ended his Commentary on Ezechiel,[1] and which he embodied in his collect for the Christmas Vigil, which makes reference to the joy and tranquillity of the soul before Christ her Judge, at His Second Coming.[2]

Gregorian Sacramentary	Gregory
H. 23/1. Natale Sancti Sebastiani. Cf. H. 152/1. Nat. S. Hermetis.	
21. Deus qui beatum Sebastianum martyrem tuum UIRTUTE CONSTANTIAE in passione ROBORASTI : ex eius nobis imitatione tribue pro amore tuo PROSPERA MUNDI DESPICERE ET NULLA EIUS ADUERSA FORMIDARE : per.	*Moral. xxviii, Praef. :* Post damna rerum . . . de TANTA UIRTUTE CONSTANTIAE laudandus a iudice beatus Iob fuerat, si iam de praesenti saeculo esset euocandus. *Moral. xv. 51:* Deus et Dominus redemptor noster, ad contumelias, ad passionem uenit, ET ADUERSA HUIUS MUNDI aequanimiter pertulit, PROSPERA fortiter uitauit, UT ET PROSPERA doceret aeternae uitae appeti, ET ADUERSA *praesentis uitae* NON FORMIDARI. *Moral. iii. 38:* Simplicitatem in marito redarguit, quod TRANSITURA CUNCTA DESPICIENS, puro corde sola aeterna concupiscit.

[1] In Ezech. II, hom. x. 24 : " Quid igitur restat, nisi ut INTER FLAGELLA QUAE EX NOSTRIS INIQUITATIBUS PATIMUR, cum lacrymis GRATIAS AGAMUS? Ipse etenim qui nos creauit, etiam PATER NOBIS FACTUS EST per adoptionis spiritum quem dedit. Et aliquando filios pane nutrit, aliquando flagello corrigit : quia per dolores et munera ad haereditatem perpetuam erudit."

In Ezech. II, hom. vii. 17 : " PATER enim nobis ex pietate sua FACTUS EST Conditor noster, nosque adoptiuos filios ad haereditatem regni caelestis nutrit."

[2] H. 5/1. " Deus qui redemptionis nostrae annua expectatione laetificas, praesta quaesumus ut unigenitum tuum quem redemptorem laeti suscepimus, uenientem quoque iudicem SECURI uideamus." See my article in *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, vol. lxvii (1953), " Gregorian Elements in the Gelasian Sacramentary," p. 19 ff.

Moral. iv. 45:
Et quidem multi in hac infirmitate carnis TANTA UIRTUTE ROBORATI SUNT, ut resplendere mundo quasi stellae potuissent.
Moral. vi. 39:
Sed quia ueraciter humilis, qui hoc loco pauper uocatur, quo NULLA HUIUS MUNDI PROSPERA appetit, eo audenter etiam ADUERSA contemnit.

Gregorian Sacramentary	Gregory
H. 44/4. Sabb. in xii lect.	*In Ezech. I, hom. vi. 8:*
22. Adesto quaesumus domine supplicationibus nostris, UT ESSE te largiente mereamur ET INTER PROSPERA HUMILES ET INTER ADUERSA SECURI: per.	Et praedicatio, quae nec aduersitate retineri potest, nec prosperitatibus eleuatur, sphaera est, quia EST ET INTER ADUERSA FORTIS, ET INTER PROSPERA HUMILIS, nec timoris habet angulum, nec elationis.
H. 193/5. Alia De Aduentu.	*In Ezech. II, hom. vii. 20:*
23. Mentes nostras quaesumus domine lumine tuae uisitationis inlustra, UT ESSE te largiente mereamur ET INTER PROSPERA HUMILES ET INTER ADUERSA SECURI: per.	Et qui IN PROSPERITATE HUMLIS FUIT, reuocatis bonis suis ad memoriam, infractus aduersitate permansit.

A comparison of these prayers with the parallel texts should enable the student to draw his own conclusions. In my opinion these twenty-three prayer formularies, proper to the Gregorian Sacramentary, bear all the marks of Gregory's authorship. The passages alleged for comparison are typical of countless others: any student of St. Gregory's writings would recognize them at a glance as his. And the prayers are cast in the same mould. Once we have adverted to the likeness, further reading strengthens the conviction that they are of his composition. They represent precisely the spirit and the matter of his philosophy of history, his intuition of the providence behind events guiding all for the salvation of the faithful; his humility, his piety, his confidence that God will deliver his people from their sins or from the evils their sins have brought upon them. It seems likely that these evils were the afflictions due to the threat of the Lombard Invasions. There is no other occasion which might have

inspired such a sense of insecurity, so concrete an apprehension of imminent evil. And the letters and sermons of the period, particularly the Commentary to Ezechiel, manifest the same preoccupation.

These prayers, then, to conclude, were written or pronounced by St. Gregory, at least as early as the year 593, the more probable date of the Lombard siege of Rome.

SOME UNNOTICED ASPECTS OF THE EMPEROR HENRY VI'S CONQUEST OF THE NORMAN KINGDOM OF SICILY

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I

THE[1] policy of the combatants in the struggle between the empire and the Norman kingdom of Sicily[2] during the second half of the twelfth century was greatly clarified when Haller[3] made it plain that the marriage alliance between Frederick I's heir, Henry, king of the Romans, and William II of Sicily's heiress, the Princess Constance, which was announced from Augsburg on 29 October 1184, did not constitute a break in the Sicilian policy of close co-operation with the papacy (pursued since the election of Alexander III) because the scheme was actually initiated by Pope Lucius III.

The fact that the marriage also represented no break in imperial policy was, however, obscured for historians by the stress which the papacy subsequently placed[4] on the royal rights of the Princess Constance over the Sicilian kingdom. These rights came to Henry with his bride, but from the imperial point of view they were of no importance and the marriage was desired because it was likely to encourage Sicilian opinion to favour Frederick I's long-term policy for the annexation of the kingdom by the empire.[5] This point is well illustrated

[1] The titles of the books referred to in the footnotes have been abbreviated. For the expansions *vide infra* pp. 357–9.

[2] The kingdom came into existence in 1130. The territories comprised in it were: the island of Sicily, Calabria, Apulia and Capua, see Spruner, no. 23.

[3] Haller, pp. 414 ff.

[4] Gesta Inn., col. 30 and *infra* p. 332.

[5] Evidence for Frederick I's determination to control the south of Italy can be found immediately after his accession in the Treaty of Constance of 1153, which was directed against the claim of the eastern empire to these territories. See MGH. Const. 1, p. 203.

when Henry in 1191 renewed the treaties[1] his father had made with the Pisans and the Genoese for the use of their fleets during the conquest of the Sicilian kingdom, since Henry clearly regarded the additional rights brought by his marriage as irrelevant and so made no reference to them or to the queen of the Romans. Moreover, among the numerous privileges which the Emperor granted to subjects of the kingdom between 1191 and 1197,[2] only one contains a reference to the Empress's right of inheritance, and even then it was coupled with and preceded by an unqualified statement of the imperial claim, since the document in question says that the Emperor was at Montecassino: *pro obtinendo regno Sicilie et Apulie, quod tum antiquo iure imperii tum ex hereditate illustris consortis nostre Constantie Romanorum imperatricis auguste ad imperium devenatur* [sic].[3]

Very naturally the Empress Constance, who was the daughter of Roger II, the first Norman King of Sicily, did not share her husband's opinion on the question of the Sicilian succession, and on 3 October 1195, in a forceful letter to Celestine III, she explained that the kingdom of Sicily was not subject to papal interference but was entirely hers by reason of *paterna successione et imperialis adquisitione*,[4] so clearly in her eyes the imperial right occupied not only a second place but was reduced to a recent right by conquest.

The fact that Constance found it necessary to protest against papal encroachment on the affairs of the kingdom is of interest not only because it provides a statement of her views concerning the succession but also because it is one of many indications[5] which serve to show that papal policy on the Sicilian question paralleled in its continuity the policies of William II and the

[1] MGH. CONST. nos. 333 and 337.

[2] ST. no. 4660 ff.; in all some 105 privileges and the list can be supplemented by another 23 documents which have come to light more recently.

[3] 21 May 1191, printed GATTOLA, p. 269. I have taken the liberty of expanding the *Rom̄* of the manuscript to *Romanorum*, instead of following Gattola's *Romae*, because this conforms with the Empress's usual style. The privilege, ST. no. 4698, was at one time thought to be a forgery, for no very precise reason, but it is now generally accepted as authentic.

[4] KEHR, QF. 1905, p. 50.

[5] For instance, Clement III's letter to William II in MIGNE 204, p. 1486. For the date of this letter see FRIEDLAENDER, p. 56.

two Hohenstaufen Emperors. The Popes almost from the first arrival of the Normans in south Italy had claimed to be their suzerains and the marriage alliance between the empire and Sicily in no way led to papal recognition of the even earlier imperial claim over the Sicilian territories the Normans had conquered.

Therefore the settlement of 1184 was in fact a mere diplomatic expedient for ending the uneasy relations between the Emperor and the Norman King of Sicily subsequent to the peace of Venice in 1177, when the Pope had obtained for his ally nothing more substantial than a truce with the limited duration of fifteen years.[1] On the imperial side, since the announcement of the agreement was preceded by William II's attack on the eastern empire, Haller [2] saw the successful furtherance of Frederick I's hostility towards the Greeks, but the fundamental problem of dispute between the western empire, the papacy and the Norman Kings of Sicily, namely, their proprietary rights over the south of Italy and the island of Sicily, was left untouched and as a result the political alignment remained unchanged. As a result, after the empire had actually annexed the kingdom of Sicily, late in 1194, the support of the royal Norman rights of the Empress Constance became a matter of lively concern to the papacy since her four Norman predecessors Roger II, William I, William II and Tancred had all of them acknowledged papal suzerainty over their kingdom to the extent of seeking papal confirmation of their claims by conquest with the performance or promise of homage.[3]

Consequently, after the imperial occupation of the kingdom of Sicily had been achieved, the conflict between the imperial rights of Henry VI and the royal right of inheritance belonging to the Empress Constance continued and was reflected even in the diplomatic forms of the privileges they granted to their new subjects. Henry's documents are drafted in accordance with the formulas of the imperial chancery while Constance's follow Sicilian practice. It is therefore particularly interesting to find that the imperial chancery saw fit to draft four privileges in the

[1] MGH. Const. I, p. 365. [2] p. 430. [3] Kehr, p. 10 ff.

form of joint grants[1] by the Emperor and Empress, between 3 June 1191 and 8 April 1195. Moreover, all four of these grants were made at the instance of ecclesiastical dignitaries, whose rank placed them in a close relationship to the papacy, and whose position within the kingdom was such that the Emperor would have been ill-advised to antagonize them.

The first of these documents[2] belongs to 3 June 1191 and it was granted at the instance of William, Abbot of St. Sofia in Benevento, to the citizens of that town. Benevento and its surroundings formed a papal enclave within the kingdom of Sicily and in 1191 the favourable neutrality of the town was of considerable importance to the Emperor because he was besieging Naples. The second grant[3] was in favour of the Archbishop and Canons of the church of Palermo. The Archbishop, Bartholomew, an Englishman long in episcopal office in Sicily, had sympathized with the Sicilian attempt to avoid subjection to the German Emperor and had remained loyal to King Tancred's widow, Sybella, almost to the end;[4] but he had come to terms with the Emperor before Christmas of 1194 and had been willing to crown Henry as King of Sicily, so there could be little reason for opposing him on so minor a matter as the wording of a privilege. The third of the joint grants[5] was in favour of Monreale and it was obtained under the auspices of Archbishop Bartholomew, since from the privilege itself it is clear that Archbishop Carus of Monreale was not at court. It was, moreover, made on the same day as the document in favour of the archiepiscopal church of Palermo and Archbishop Bartholomew's name heads the list of witnesses. Finally, the fourth of the privileges[6] went to Archbishop Matthew of Capua on 8 April 1195. This Archbishop had been from the first one of Henry's partisans[7] and his support in the mainland

[1] The formula used was: *una cum dilecta consorte nostra Constantia illustri romanorum imperatrice semper augusta et regina Sicilie*, though the order in which the words were placed varied. The omission of *et regina Sicilie* in the privilege to the archiepiscopal church of Palermo, RIES, no. 4, is one of a number of reasons for thinking that the document at present in that cathedral archive is not original.

[2] RIES, no. 2.

[3] RIES, no. 4.

[4] MONGITORE, BULLAE, p. 60; GARUFI, p. 257.

[5] RIES, no. 5.

[6] RIES, no. 7.

[7] P. EBOLI, l. 301, ll. 344-51.

province of Capua was of unquestionable consequence to the Emperor.

During the same stretch of years no other privileges granted by the Empress, either jointly with her consort or in her own name, are extant, with the exception of the gift[1] of *terra Merculiani*[2] to the Abbey of Montevergine. This document, however, seems to be the exception which proves the rule, for on precisely the same day the formal privilege[3] confirming the rights and possessions of the monastery was made in the Emperor's name alone, so the joint privilege must be regarded as a personal pious gift. The three remaining documents listed by Ries as joint have little substance. No. 1 is a palpable forgery; no. 3 a *deperditum*, known in the main through a reference in a letter of Innocent III, from which it is clear that in this Pope's opinion at any rate the grant of a fief in the kingdom of Sicily by the Emperor required the Empress's agreement but there is no evidence to show that her consent was in fact necessary, or that it would have been recorded in writing; no. 9 is not really a joint privilege but it contains a reference to the Empress expressed in a surprising formula,[4] which cannot be paralleled, and it is clear, on quite other grounds, that the manuscript through which this privilege to St. Lorenzo Aversa is known had been seriously tampered with.[5]

The fact that no joint privileges survive between 1191 and 1195, other than the four granted to leading churchmen and the personal gift to Montevergine, may of course be a coincidence produced by an erratic survival rate. It can, however, be urged against this possibility that for the same period of time the texts of twenty-seven privileges granted by the Emperor alone are extant and they provide no example of a grant made at the instance

[1] RIES, no. 6. [2] Mercogliano, province of Avellino.

[3] ST., no. 4912.

[4] The possessions of the monastery are placed: *una cum consorte nostra in protectionem et tutelam nostram et heredum nostrorum.*

[5] The document, which purported to be an original, was in the Archivio di Stato Naples until its destruction by the German army in 1943. It was there seen and copied by Miss E. M. Jamison, who noted that a section of the text had been erased and re-written; she also thought the reference to the Capitanata unlikely in a document of 1195. The most recent printed text is GALLO, no. 149.

of a highly placed dignitary of the church likely to be aware of the details of papal policy, except for a privilege in favour of the Archbishop of Taranto, Angelo, preserved by an indifferent transcript in Ughelli[1] and here it is particularly interesting to find that Ries was considering an emendation of the text which would turn the document into a joint grant.[2] There are, of course, two *deperdita*, namely the document[3] in favour of the archiepiscopal church of Reggio, which in the eighteenth century was still to be found in Reggio, and the lost privilege for the church of Messina, whose existence is indicated by Henry's mandate[4] to the inhabitants of the diocese. Since their texts are unknown they form an incalculable factor; but they may well have been joint grants, for Frederick II's privilege[5] to Aloysia of Marturano shows that the Empress Constance was closely connected with the exchange of land authorized in the *deperditum* for Reggio. Therefore, on a balance of probability, the texts of these two *deperdita* might, if they were available, confirm the conclusion that the more highly placed churchmen of the Norman kingdom from the very eve of the imperial occupation stressed the Empress's rights over the kingdom in contradistinction to those of the empire.

An alternative attempt to explain away all five joint privileges of 1191 to 1195 as the result of a personal interest felt by the Empress in the actual transactions rather than as a clash of political opinion, shipwrecks on the two privileges[6] issued in Palermo on 11 January 1195, when the Empress was certainly not present, for she was at the time in or near Iesi, where on 26 December she had given birth to the future Emperor Frederick II.

The conclusion that the conflict between the imperial and the royal Norman claims over south Italy and Sicily did not disappear with the imperial success of 1194, receives further support from the arrangements made by the Emperor Henry VI for the government of the kingdom before he went back to Germany in 1195, because they suggest that he was anxious to

[1] Vol. 9, col. 131.
[2] Ries, no. 5 note.
[3] St., no. 4902.
[4] St., no. 4904*a*.
[5] Scheffer-Boichorst, Sbak. 1900, p. 158.
[6] Ries, nos. 4, 5.

minimize his consort's importance. It is true that he conciliated Sicilian opinion by allowing the Empress to go to Palermo, but at the same time he did not send the young prince with her and he left a German, Conrad, Duke of Spoleto, to be *totius regni Sicilie vicarius*[1] or more precisely *regni Sicilie, ducatus Apulie et principatus Capue vicarius.*[2]

It is also noticeable that although the Empress exercised a very real authority during the Emperor's absence from the Kingdom of Sicily, between May of 1195 and April of 1197, she was careful to prefer the substance to the shadow and made no display of her power. Out of thirty-four surviving privileges and eleven known *deperdita*[3] made during this time in her name alone, all, with the exception of four of the privileges[4] and two of the *deperdita*,[5] are concerned with administration or with matters arising from grants made by the Emperor before his departure. Moreover, even in the case of the six exceptions there remains the possibility that the Empress may still have been confirming grants made by the Emperor because her confirmation to Casamari,[6] though containing no specific reference to his privilege, is known to be a word for word copy only because his privilege survives.[7] Incidentally, the fact that Casamari, a monastery situated in papal territory, found it necessary to obtain a privilege from the Empress as well as the Emperor is in the present context of considerable interest, especially when taken in conjunction with the fact that St. Sofia in Benevento, another monastery in papal territory, seems to have experienced the same need to add a privilege from the Empress[8] to the one already received from the Emperor.[9]

It seems in these circumstances obvious that a large proportion of the subjects of the Sicilian kingdom must, like the papacy, have determined that they would maintain the Norman rather than the imperial claim to their throne, since it must have been their support which gave the Empress her authority. Tangible

[1] St., nos. 4924, 4926. The most recent printed text of St., no. 4924 is Scalia, p. 129.
[2] St., no. 4910a.
[3] Ries, nos. 10 to 55.
[4] Ries, nos. 15, 29, 41, 47.
[5] Ries, nos. 46, 49.
[6] Ries, no. 40.
[7] St., no. 4885.
[8] Ries, no. 51.
[9] Winkelmann, no. 257.

evidence for this sentiment, however, first appears with the revolt in the late[1] spring of 1197, when the rebels made so much use of the Empress's name that her complicity in the plot against the Emperor was widely rumoured.[2] Immediately after this rebellion a fresh crop of joint privileges appears in the calendar of Constance's documents. The preamble of the first[3] of these stated that the grant was made as a reward for the loyalty shown during the recent disturbances by Caltagirone,[4] a town in a key position in the centre of Sicily. This loyalty had apparently been felt chiefly towards the Empress, for a similar reward made to imperialist Messina was issued in the name of the Emperor alone.[5] On the three remaining occasions when the Empress's name was invoked, in one case the privilege[6] was in favour of an important ecclesiastical dignitary, being a second grant to Matthew, Archbishop of Capua, while in the two other instances it may well have been feared that the step taken would be unpopular, for the first of these privileges[7] handed over the Cistercian convent of St. Trinitā in Palermo to the alien order of Teutonic knights and the second[8] gave to Lucca the same exemptions from customs dues in the kingdom as the Pisans had.

The light of subsequent events, therefore, makes it clear that the two imperial campaigns of 1191 and 1194 were the culmination of a long-term imperial policy, dating presumably from the time of Charlemagne and the creation of the western empire, and they were not, as is often suggested, the product of a mushroom growth resulting from a recent marriage connection. This conclusion has extremely wide implications because it brings out sharply the fact that an entity such as the German medieval empire had a policy which transcended and survived its rulers and its dynasties.

[1] TOECHE, pp. 453, 583, 584 concluded that the rebellion occurred before 6 April 1197. For a more exact dating see RIES, no. 54 note.

[2] TOECHE, pp. 582, 583, listed and accepted these rumours as the truth. For their extreme improbability see RIES, p. 32.

[3] RIES, no. 56. [4] Province of Catania.

[5] ST. no. 5064, printed GIARDINA, no. 9.

[6] RIES, no. 58. [7] RIES, no. 57. [8] RIES, no. 59.

II

Turning from the political principles underlying the imperial conquest of the Norman kingdom to the strategic principles of the imperial campaigns of 1191 and 1194, it had always been evident that possession of a fleet would be a *sine qua non* because the heart of the kingdom lay in the island of Sicily. To meet this need in 1162 the Emperor Frederick I had made arrangements with the cities of Pisa and Genoa for the use of their ships of war against William of Sicily and his successors. This solution of the problem was by no means a new one, for under the auspices of Innocent II the combined Pisan and Genoese fleets had operated in 1133 in alliance with the Emperor Lothar[1] and in 1137 the Pisan fleet at any rate[2] had assisted the same Emperor during his campaign against King Roger of Sicily. Moreover, Frederick's immediate predecessor, Conrad III, was at the time of his death in process of negotiating for the assistance of the Pisan fleet for the same purpose.[3] The first surviving documents, however, which give the terms agreed on are Frederick I's privileges[4] of 1162.

A striking feature of these treaty arrangements was the care with which, on the imperial side, it was provided that they should remain indefinitely in force, because no particular year could be named for the invasion and, on the Pisan and Genoese side, the precision with which the season of the year was fixed, when they were prepared to set out on an expedition against the kingdom of Sicily. The period they selected ran from 1 May until 1 September. The Pisans went on to make it an essential condition that before their fleet was required to enter Sicilian waters the imperial army should actually have invaded the enemy territory, which was not given its royal title,[5] but was

[1] CAFFARO, ad. an. 1133.

[2] BERNHARDI, p. 739, believed, on the evidence of the *Annalista Saxo*, that Genoese ships were with the Pisan fleet in 1137. In view of Caffaro's silence on the point it seems unlikely that the statement of the Saxon chronicler can be correct.

[3] MGH. CONST. 1, no. 131.

[4] MGH. CONST. 1, nos. 205, 211.

[5] The Norman kings held their royal title from the papacy.

referred to as Sicily, Apulia, Calabria and the principality of Capua. They further stipulated that the Emperor should lead his army in person, or send important German princes in his stead. If he followed the latter course he was required to remain in the north of Italy in a position to defend Pisa from any sudden attack made against the city by her enemies. So the net result of the arrangements between the empire and the two northern communes for the employment of their fleets was great flexibility as to the choice of year for the invasion and a certain inflexibility as to the season of the year when the expedition could start.

Therefore, from 1162, and perhaps from 1136,[1] the essential requirement for the reduction of the Norman kingdom, namely, sea power, had been provided for by a plan which made it probable that the imperial army would reach the Sicilian frontier on, or shortly before, 1 May in order to make the maximum use of its naval forces. In the event at any rate this is what actually happened, although the Emperor Frederick was not able personally to put the scheme into effect. Shortly after his death, however, his son Henry VI, in 1191, set about reviving the treaties with Pisa and Genoa in privileges,[2] which copied those granted by his father very nearly word for word, though a few additional concessions were necessary in order to obtain the promise of precisely the same naval support.

The renewal of the treaty with Pisa went through very rapidly, the Emperor himself visiting the city, and it is interesting to find that although the imperial army was within striking distance of the Sicilian frontier, at Silva Libertina,[3] by 19 April 1191, no attack was launched until 29 April,[4] presumably because the Emperor had no wish to advance until the Pisans came and their earliest date was May. This fact tends to

[1] It is likely that Lothar's agreement with Pisa was on much the same lines as Frederick's, because at this date it is unusual for an imperial privilege to make any reference to its forerunner, even when copied from it.

[2] MGH. Const. 1, nos. 333, 337. St. no. 4660 shows that negotiations with the Pisans were well in hand by 28 August 1190.

[3] Between Frosinone and Rocca d' Arce, see St., no. 4697.

[4] Ann. Ceccan., ad. an. 1191. Ceccano is in the neighbourhood of Frosinone ; at this date its annals are contemporary.

confirm the discredit thrown by Haller [1] on Arnold of Lübeck's statement that Pope Celestine put off his own consecration for a fortnight with the purpose of delaying the crowning of Henry VI and Constance as Emperor and Empress of the Romans, for a mere two weeks lost near Rome at the beginning of April was not a serious inconvenience for an army due to enter the Sicilian kingdom by 1 May. On the other hand, there is general agreement [2] that Henry surrendered Tusculum to the fury of the Romans as the price of a speedy coronation. This decision must have been accelerated, and is to a certain point extenuated, by the knowledge that he faced a situation in which delay would have complicated very adversely his naval arrangements by increasing the difficulty of synchronizing his advance with that of the Pisan ships.

Another rumour, contained in the statements [3] of the contemporary south Italian chronicles, to the effect that the Emperor's advance against the Norman kingdom was made in the teeth of open papal opposition, seems to deserve rather less credence than Chalandon [4] allows to it. Like Arnold of Lübeck's story these statements must be attributed to the common knowledge that it was not in the papal interest for the south of Italy to be occupied by a power which had refused to recognize the papal claim to suzerainty over these lands.[5] A letter [6] of Henry VI's to Pope Celestine confirms this conclusion, for the Emperor could hardly have referred to the papal interdict placed on his supporters in Montecassino after his departure as an incredible rumour, if the Pope had from the first publicly forbidden his own invasion of the kingdom. Moreover, Chalandon himself noted the fact that in the second part of the same letter the Emperor's observation that *bone pacis et amicabilis concordie firmitudine magnificentiam imperialem a vestra Sancti-*

[1] P. 556, where it is pointed out that nothing could be more natural than the choice of Easter Day, which in 1191 fell on 14 April, for the coronation of a pope probably elected on 30 March. [2] See GREGOROVIUS 4, p. 591.

[3] ANN. CASIN. and R.S.G., ad. an. 1191, state that the pope forbade the attack on the kingdom, while the chronicle of S. M. FERR, ad. an. 1191, says that the pope placed the imperial army under interdict. [4] Vol. 2, p. 446.

[5] In 1137, while in the south of Italy, the Emperor Lothar and Pope Innocent II had discussed the merits of their rival claims to these territories for some two months, see Chalandon 2, p. 75. [6] St., no. 4737.

tate nuperrime in coronatione nostra sperabamus recessisse was an indication that the Emperor was on reasonably good terms with Celestine when he left Rome in 1191. On the other hand, Chalandon's conclusion that the words which follow—*precipue cum et tunc prompti fuerimus et nunc parati sumus ad exquendum ea que vestre complacere debeant Paternitati*—indicate that Henry "dut faire au pape certaines promesses et prendre certains engagements envers lui", and that these promises and undertakings concerned the future of the Sicilian kingdom is hardly likely, in view of the fact that the words read far more intelligibly if they are taken as an allusion to the Emperor's crusading schemes, which certainly should have been pleasing to the pope.

The correct conclusion, therefore, seems to be that during Henry's stay in or near Rome in 1191 the Pope and the Emperor were outwardly on good terms and that, as in 1184, all discussion of the burning issue, proprietary rights over the Sicilian kingdom, had been shelved.

Once under way the invasion of the kingdom proceeded unchecked until the imperial army reached the walls of Naples. It has been generally agreed that the failure of the siege they then began, which lasted from the end of May[1] to the end of August[2] 1191, was due to a lack of sea power. The Genoese as yet had not renewed the treaty and the Pisan ships by themselves were unable to prevent the enemy from re-victualling Naples by sea. Peter of Eboli's picture of the imperial cavalry manfully charging towards a Sicilian ship[3] aptly sums up the position. The root cause of this predicament, however, seems to have escaped attention. It lies in the Emperor's decision, made for reasons unknown to us but put into effect during February of 1191,[4] to go in person to Pisa

[1] About 25 May, see St., no. 4700.

[2] According to the Cron. Suessanum, p. 51, the siege was raised on 24 August.

[3] P. Eboli, pl. 16.

[4] On 12 February 1191 one of the imperial envoys to Genoa, the Archbishop-Elect of Ravenna, can be traced as a witness to an imperial privilege dated from Bologna, St., no. 4677. He does not re-appear as a witness until 21 May 1191, St., no. 4698; he must be presumed absent from the court during this period. Ottobuono, p. 38, provides no exact date for his arrival in Genoa, but he records it as the cause of the dispatch of Genoese envoys to Naples.

but to send only envoys to negotiate the renewal of the treaty with Genoa.[1] These envoys, William Archbishop-Elect of Ravenna and Arnold Strictus of Piacenza,[2] did not succeed in persuading the Genoese to enter into an immediate agreement but when they rejoined the Emperor, as he was approaching Naples, they were followed by two representatives from Genoa, who were prepared to negotiate with the Emperor. By 30 May an agreement[3] had been concluded; but a considerable time lag ensued, for the envoys had to return to their city and the fleet had to collect. As a result the ships did not sail for the south until 15 August[4] and when they reached the coasts of the Sicilian kingdom they found that the siege of Naples had been raised and the imperial army, wasted by sickness, was in retreat.

At this point a privilege[5] of King Tancred's in favour of the city of Gaeta seems to throw a little light on the course of the naval war between the beginning of the siege of Naples and the arrival on the scene of action of the Genoese fleet. The privilege in question shows that Gaeta owned a series of ports, stretching from the river Liri to lake Patria, that is to the north and south of the Volturno, the river in whose mouth, according to Ottobuono,[6] the Pisan fleet was known to be blockaded by the Sicilian admiral, Margaritus, at the time when the Genoese fleet

[1] On his return to Germany in 1191 the Emperor visited both Pisa and Genoa, see ST., nos. 4713, 4713*a*, 4714, 4717*a*. Before his second attack on the kingdom in 1194 he again went in person to both towns, ST. nos. 4867*a*, 4868, 4869 ff.

[2] OTTOBUONO, p. 38, where the Archbishop's name is given as Otto. UGHELLI 2, col. 373, explains the discrepancy between the chronicle and the imperial document by noting that this Archbishop was referred to by both names.

[3] ST., no. 4701.

[4] OTTOBUONO, p. 39.

[5] C. D. CAJET. 2, p. 311.

[6] P. 39. Ottobuono's phrase is *usque ad fluvium Castelli de mare, qui est prope Montem Draconem*. . . . The Castel di mare in question must be the present Castel Volturno, province of Caserta, known in the twelfth century as *castellum maris de Vulturno*, see Henry VI's privilege to Capua printed by SCHEFFER-BOICHORST, NA. 1898, p. 154; cf. DI MEO, 12, p. 297. The present position of Castel Volturno is a short distance inland, but the ruined remains of the castle go straight down into the waters of the Volturno. Since this river is building its delta out into the sea, in all probability, in the twelfth century the castle was literally *a mare*.

sailed from the north.[1] It is difficult to believe that there was no connection between the negotiations with Gaeta and an event of this importance, more especially as the royal document, dated July 1191, was made in recognition not only of the loyalty but of the *grata servitia* of the Gaetani to King Tancred and his predecessors. The inference, therefore, seems to be that the blockade had been achieved at the earliest by the end of June and at the latest by the end of July, so even on a minimum showing the Pisan fleet is likely to have been immobilized for the greater part of August. However, according to Ottobuono, when the thirty-three Genoese ships reached the Volturno with the intention of joining the Pisans, they found that the Pisan fleet had succeeded in running the blockade by night and presumably it had been followed by the Sicilian ships, for this fleet too had disappeared. The Pisan escape was perhaps a little surprising[2] but, on the other hand, if the blockade had been maintained, the Sicilians would have found themselves very awkwardly placed, in a known position, between two enemy fleets.[3] The encounter, however, which took place shortly afterwards between the Sicilian and Genoese ships, has provoked even more surprise.

This meeting took place off Monte Circeo, on the fringe of Sicilian waters. The Genoese were greatly outnumbered, but when attacked they resisted and after a time the Sicilian admiral turned tail and allowed them to leave his waters unopposed.[4] Toeche,[5] following Di Blasi, found this account so startling that he dismissed the story as a mere Genoese boast and Chalandon [6] was presumably of the same opinion, for he left the episode unmentioned. Nevertheless, it is not clear that such ruthless distrust of the chronicler's story is necessary, for the fact that Ottobuono did not know the reason why the Sicilians broke off the engagement makes it inexplicable but not incredible. Indeed a spirited translation of the passage in his annals: *quo cognito, Ianuenses qui erant in exercitu, dolentes ad mortem, pervenerunt*

[1] Ottobuono, pp. 39, 40.

[2] For the capability and experience of the Sicilian admiral, see Garufi, Salinas, p. 273.

[3] Ottobuono, pp. 39, 40.

[4] Ottobuono, p. 40.

[5] P. 202, note 2.

[6] Vol. 2, p. 457.

cum omni exercitu ad insulam Yscle ; et veniente nocte vellificantes, tenuerunt ad insulas Pontiae et Palmaroliae. Mane vero facto, Bellusbrunus cum galea sua expectavit exercitum, et invenit se cum .XXIII. galeis ; alius enim consul Rolandus tenuerat mare cum aliis galeis. Cum autem appropinquaret monti Cercelii, ecce Margaritus cum stolio regis Tanclerii, videlicet cum galeis .LXXII. et duabus sagitteis et duabus scurzatis, apparuit, et predictis .XXII. galeis dedit insultum. Quibus visis, galeae nostrae erexerunt vexilla, et ceperunt arma, volentes aggredi exercitum regis Tanclerii. Tandem contigit quod Margaritus cum stolio regis dedit terga, et tenuerunt versus insulam Yscle . . ., might read " Having learnt this news [the Pisan flight, the Emperor's illness and the raising of the siege of Naples], the Genoese, who were with the fleet, grieving to death, proceeded with the whole fleet to Ischia ; and when night came they made under sail for the islands of Ponza and Palmarola. But when morning broke Bellusbrunus in his own galley remained on the lookout for the [Pisan] fleet and it appeared[1] with twenty-three ships. The other consul, however, Rolandus, made to sea with the other galleys. But when he was approaching Monte Circeo, behold Margaritus with King Tancred's fleet, to wit seventy-two galleys, two sagittiæ and two scurzatæ, appeared and bore down on the aforesaid thirty-two galleys. This having been observed, our galleys raised their ensigns, and stood to arms, wishing to close with the fleet of King Tancred. Finally, it happened that Margaritus with the king's fleet turned away and made towards the island of Ischia." [2]

On this showing the Genoese, when they found that the

[1] I owe to Miss Jamison's kindness the suggestion that in this context *invenit se* could mean " it appeared " and not " he had with him " as has been generally supposed.

[2] The supposition that following the words *expectavit exercitum*, the word *Pisanorum* has been omitted and the emendation of twenty-two to thirty-two seem no wilder than the rendering accepted by Toeche and Chalandon, which required an abrupt change of subject, from Rolandus back to Bellusbrunus, to be understood before the sentence beginning *cum autem*, and left the Genoese fleet divided into unequal parts, for no very obvious reason. The emendation in the last sentence of twenty-two to thirty-two is less serious than that made by Ottobuono's editor of twenty-two to twenty-three for he overlooks the fact that if Bellusbrunus had with him twenty-three ships, the number of ships met by the Sicilians must have totalled twenty-four.

Pisans had left the Volturno, proceeded to Ischia to look for them. This would have been a natural course of action, because from the mouth of the Volturno it is clear that Ischia provides the nearest and the only cover for escaping ships; moreover, during the summer months sand silting up the mouth of the Volturno forces its waters to rush into the sea in a narrow current, which runs strongly in the direction of the island. After reaching Ischia the Genoese settled, towards nightfall, to continue the search in the direction of the islands of Ponza and Palmarola, but by dawn they had decided to withdraw and so they left Bellusbrunus in his own ship to find and tell the Pisans of this decision, and Bellusbrunus did, in fact, sight twenty-three Pisan ships. Therefore, when the Genoese fleet met Margaritus with his considerably larger force, the Sicilian admiral had a very cogent reason for breaking off an engagement against ships which were leaving his waters, since the other enemy fleet might well be harrying the coasts of the kingdom, quite apart from the fact that the risk of its sudden appearance during the battle placed the Sicilians at a certain disadvantage. This possibility seems at least to establish the fact that the incident requires further investigation and should not be cursorily dismissed.

III

Although the imperial campaign of 1191 was from the imperial point of view an unquestionable failure, the decision to proceed with the conquest of Sicily never faltered. Thus, immediately after the disaster, when the envoys from the Genoese fleet, which after its encounter with Margaritus had put into Civitavecchia,[1] joined the Emperor at Montecassino, during September 1191, they were told that it was Henry's intention to proceed to their city in order to plan a fresh attack on the Norman kingdom[2] and the Emperor carried out his intention by visiting, as he returned to Germany, both Pisa[3] and Genoa,[4] holding *contione et consilio de exercitu renovando.*[5]

[1] Province of Rome.
[2] Ottobuono, pp. 40, 41.
[3] St., nos. 4731, 4713A, 4714.
[4] St., no. 4717.
[5] Ottobuono, p. 41.

In the spring of the following year, 1192, a papal attempt[1] to mediate between the Emperor and King Tancred was turned down by Henry VI with finality, although his Empress was the King's prisoner. In May 1193, a privilege[2] to Pisa shows that Henry then once more renewed the arrangements made in 1191 for an expedition against the Sicilian kingdom, which incidentally were precisely those of 1162.

In May 1193, the presumption is that the campaign was planned to begin in the spring of 1194, since an undated letter[3] of Henry's to the Pisans tells them that his expedition to Apulia has been put off until the middle of May, and this letter is attributed to 1194 because in that year the Emperor in fact left Germany towards the middle of May. Many problems unquestionably required attention in Germany during the winter of 1193 to 1194 and a further possible cause for delay was the need of Richard of England's ransom to finance the Sicilian campaign.[4] The first instalment of this ransom had been paid up by the end of 1193,[5] but the second instalment was presumably only forwarded after King Richard's arrival in England, which took place on 13 March 1194.[6] It would be interesting to know if these were the Emperor's only reasons for altering the date when his expedition was due to start, because subsequent events show that in 1194 Henry carried out a fast moving campaign in marked contrast to the procedure hitherto employed by himself and his predecessors, which had consisted in trying to master the mainland provinces of the Sicilian kingdom through the slow reduction of its cities by siege, before attempting an attack on the island of Sicily. The new strategy required hard marching and for this reason the end of the period when it was convenient for his naval allies to begin a campaign, namely, mid-August, was more suitable than early May with the summer coming on apace. In 1194 the Emperor actually began his long march from Pisa to Messina towards the second half of August, but it is not known whether this was the result of a long or short term decision.

[1] St., no. 4741.
[2] St., no. 4745, 30 May 1193.
[3] St., no. 5088.
[4] Burchard, ad. an. 1193; Gesta Inn., col. 30.
[5] Poole, p. 365.
[6] Ibid. p. 367.

Whatever military conclusions Henry may have drawn from the disaster of 1191, it seems clear that the detailed planning of the campaign of 1194 took place after his arrival in Italy during the month he spent in Pisa. It was from Pisa that the land and sea forces set out at very much the same time[1] and it is at first sight remarkable that the joint fleets of Pisa and Genoa were prepared to sail for the south when it was obvious that they would arrive in enemy waters ahead of the land forces; for, in view of the imperial privilege to the Pisans of May 1193, there is no real reason for supposing that Pisa had modified her views concerning the conditions governing the use of her ships.

An explanation of this acquiescence can, however, be readily supplied from the Annals of Montecassino,[2] which record that Naples offered her surrender to the Emperor while he was in Pisa and so provided a base for the fleet within the enemy territory. This voluntary capitulation came about chiefly because King Tancred's death, on 20 February 1194,[3] had materially altered the position within the kingdom of Sicily. The King left as his successor a minor, his son William III, whose mother Queen Sybella acted as regent; as a consequence the royalists found themselves at a considerable disadvantage. Since Henry was in Pisa from 1 July[4] until the beginning of August,[5] the offer of surrender must have come before the ships sailed in the middle of August, so it is clear that when they left they were already assured of a welcome in Naples.

The knowledge that Naples sent her surrender to the Emperor when he was no further south than Tuscany makes it difficult to ignore the possibility that Messina may have followed the same policy. Two further considerations tend to strengthen the supposition. The first is that Messina was Palermo's rival, so from the outset it was more or less certain that the city would elect to belong to the side rejected by the capital, and events show that Palermo was loyal to the boy King

[1] A privilege of Henry VI's to the church of Volterra is dated 1194, Sutri 17 August; it is printed by SCHEFFER-BOICHORST, HIST. STUDIEN 8, p. 221. OTTOBUONO, p. 46, gives the middle of August as the date for the fleet's departure.

[2] ad. an. 1194.

[3] DI MEO, 11, p. 75.

[4] ST., no. 4869.

[5] ST., no. 4882.

William until Henry actually reached its outskirts. Therefore, from the moment when Henry's presence in the north of Italy made it clear both to the individuals and the cities of the Sicilian kingdom that they must choose between the Emperor and a King too young to lead them effectively, there exists a strong presumption that at least a faction of the Messinesi declared their loyalty to the Emperor. The second consideration is that Henry, whose general policy in 1194 and 1195 showed no disposition towards unnecessary generosity, rewarded very handsomely three men known to be closely connected with Messina, namely, Bartholomew of Luzzi,[1] his brother-in-law Payne of Parisio and Rainald of Mohac, who is known to have owned in Messina both the house where Richard of England was quartered during the winter of 1190 to 1191[2] and a landing stâge.[3] Furthermore, Bartholomew of Luzzi can be traced in Messina using the style of Count of Paterno[4] by imperial grace on 9[5] September 1194.[6] Rainald and Payne too can be traced as possessed by imperial grace of their gift counties, Ariano[7] and Avellino,[8] at comparatively early dates: Rainald by October 1194[9] and Payne[10] by November of the same year. As all three counties were sizeable and important it is clear that the services rendered to the imperial cause must have been of considerable value and in 1194 nothing could be of greater moment than the possession of a winter base for the fleet controlling the Straits of Messina.

[1] The patronymic comes from Calabria, province of Cosenza. For the connection of the Luzzi and Parisio families with Messina, see GARUFI, ASSO. 1913, p. 353.

[2] GESTA HENRICI 2, p. 126.

[3] RIES, no. 47.

[4] Province of Catania.

[5] Eight days after the arrival of the imperial fleet in Messina, see *infra* p. 347.

[6] The document in question, PIRRI, p. 1287, is the foundation charter of a new monastery near Messina. The text of it survives in a transcript where the year of our Lord is given in arabic figures as 1193. It seems clear that this is a copyist's confusion between a Roman III and a Roman IV, for permission to the new foundation to build a church was granted by the Archbishop of Messina in October of 1194, see STARRABBA, no. 25.

[7] Province of Avellino. The county had been dismembered in 1139, see JAMISON, p. 359. During the intervening years there is no available record of a county called Ariano.

[8] Capoluogo di provincia.

[9] MONGITORE, BULLAE, p. 62.

[10] MONGITORE, p. 10.

The possibility that Messina at an early date declared itself imperialist, or that a faction of the citizens offered their support to the Emperor, is also suggested by the course of action followed by the imperial fleet, which, after leaving the north in the middle of August, forced Gaeta into submission and reached Naples on 23 August. The ships, however, remained for a very brief period in this port, for by 1 September they had arrived in Messina, apparently quite unopposed by land or sea,[1] and the inaction of the Sicilian fleet has remained unexplained. Thus the imperial naval forces reached Messina seventeen days before the land forces stormed the port of Salerno,[2] and they were practically two whole months ahead of the Emperor and his army.

It was Chalandon's [3] view that the bold decision to send the fleet straight to Sicily was taken after the ships had arrived in Naples, but in fact there was hardly time for the question to be raised and the Emperor consulted, since Henry only reached the neighbourhood of Frosinone on 25 August, and he must have remained there a few days, for the Annals of Ceccano [4] record that he spent a day or so collecting supplies, restored some semblance of order in Campania and in addition took and sacked Babucum.[5] Since the sailing time of the Genoese fleet between Genoa and Naples, both in 1191 and 1194, was some ten days, it is clear that, even with the favourable winds noted by Ottobuono and the lesser distance, the ships going to Messina must have spent the larger part of the seven days between the 23 August and 1 September at sea, so they must have left Naples before the Emperor's arrival and there was hardly time even for an exchange of views by messenger. Furthermore, the contemporary annals written in the monastery of Ceccano, near which the imperial halt of 1194 in Campania took place,

[1] OTTOBUONO, pp. 47, 48. So little resistance was offered that the Pisans and Genoese found time to fight one another.

[2] ANN. CAVEN., ad. an. 1194. This date is likely to be reliable because the monastery of Cava is within a few miles of Salerno.

[3] Vol. 2, p. 482. [4] ad. an. 1194.

[5] = Bauco, see ANN. CECCAN., ed. Del Re, p. 523. The modern name for this place is Boville Ernica, province of Frosinone, see *Nuovo dizionario dei comuni e frazioni di comune della Republica italiana*, Rome, 1947, p. 30.

unquestionably imply that the Emperor had sent the fleet to Sicily before he started south with the army, for the entry for the year begins: 1194 *ind.* 11. *Hoc anno imperator praeparato magno stolio per mare misit in Siciliam, et ipse cum magno exercitu per terram veniens* 8 *Kal. Septembris Campaniam applicuit.* . . . It therefore seems correct to conclude that, with or without Messina's help, it was decided in Pisa during July or early August 1194 to send the fleet to Sicily and to follow it up as rapidly as possible by land.

This conclusion is further borne out by the fact that the Emperor as he went through the principality of Capua ignored the defiance of the fortresses of Atina[1] and Roccaguglielma[2] and although Capua and Aversa did not submit they were not besieged.[3] Salerno was rapidly stormed but it is possible that if serious resistance had been encountered this town too would have been by-passed. It is, of course, true that when the land forces left Salerno they did not take the most direct route to the Straits of Messina, which was and is the Roman Via Popilia, and this fact confused both Toeche[4] and Chalandon.[5] Nevertheless, a letter[6] of the Emperor to the Pisan section of his fleet, written shortly after leaving Salerno, states emphatically that he was hurrying: *universitati vestra significandum duximus quod ad majorem viae et itineris nostri commoditatem habendum per vallem Consre a Salerno transeuntes quanto possumus citius festinamus. Cum igitur Divina nobis cooperante gratia ad vos subito cum alacritate simus venturi.*[7] It is, moreover, likely that there was a sound military reason for not choosing the Via Popilia, since this road after leaving Salerno went through or near the fiefs of the county of Principato.[8] In 1194 this county was in

[1] Province of Frosinone.
[2] Near Esperia, province of Frosinone.
[3] Ann. Casin., ad. an. 1194.
[4] P. 336 and *infra* p. 350.
[5] Vol. 2, p. 483 and *infra* p. 350.
[6] St., no. 4886.
[7] Tronci 1, p. 385.
[8] This county owed its name, not as was customary to a town, but to its situation within the principality of Salerno. Its fiefs are listed in the Cat. Baron. in § 463-84, 552-6 and 604-93 at the least, in the opinion of Miss E. M. Jamison, who is preparing a much needed new edition of the manuscript. Only exceptionally were the fiefs of a county broken up. The document of 1193, printed by Toeche, p. 626, and a document from Cava of 1195 (see App. I) show that the Principato was not one of these exceptional cases.

the hands of King Tancred's brother-in-law, Richard of Aquino, Count of Acerra, the man who had led the successful defence of Naples against the Emperor in 1191. The identification of the Richard, Count of Principato, mentioned in a document of 1193 printed by Toeche,[1] with Richard of Acerra the Queen Regent's brother, has been achieved by a slow process of elimination,[2] strengthened by the fact that when, in 1196,[3] the imperialists at last succeeded in capturing Count Richard, he was in possession of two of the strongholds of the county of Principato: Campagna[4] and Brienza.[5] From Roger of Hoveden's chronicle[6] it is known that Count Richard in 1194 assisted his sister, the Queen Regent, and since there is no certain indication that he was in Sicily, it becomes extremely likely that, as in 1191, he commanded the mainland defence. In this case, because his earlier stronghold, Naples, had seceded to the Emperor in July or early August, the Count had little alternative but to fall back on his new county of Principato. Therefore, if Henry had attempted to advance down the Popilia he would have faced the main bulk of the enemy forces, entrenched in their home bases, and led by a commander who had emerged from the previous encounter as the victor. As it was, the Emperor turned away from the more direct route, giving as a reason to the Pisans that in order to facilitate his journey he was making for a more important road.

Since the extremely mountainous nature of the south Italian peninsula inevitably forces an army to operate along the existing road system,[7] a fact well illustrated by the royal and imperial itineraries, with the Popilia out of action the easiest, and therefore the quickest route to the Straits of Messina was to join the river Ofanto[8] and follow it down stream to the Via Appia, then

[1] P. 626. The manuscript Mon. Sopp., vol. iv, Archivio di Stato Naples, was destroyed by the German army in 1943.

[2] CAT. BARON., forthcoming edition.

[3] R.S.G., ad. an. 1196.

[4] Province of Salerno.

[5] Province of Potenza.

[6] Vol. 3, p. 269.

[7] For a general account of the south Italian road system in the 13th century see STHAMER and the maps in CIL. 9, Tab. II and CIL. 10^2, Tab. II.

[8] The Ofanto, when not in full flood, provides a sandy margin which it is easy to ride along.

the Appia itself could be used until it ran into the coastal road from Taranto to Reggio Calabria.

Five pieces of evidence go to show that this was in fact what happened. The first is an imperial privilege[1] dated 1194, in the neighbourhood of Campagna, 30 September, which shows the Emperor skirting this enemy stronghold and making for the valley of the river Sele and the Conza [2] pass leading into the valley of the river Ofanto. The second is the letter to the Pisans, already quoted, in which the Emperor said that he was going through *vallem Consre*, a place incorrectly identified by Cohn [3] as Controne [4] on the Calore, to the south-west of the Via Popilia. This identification was accepted, with some hesitation, by Toeche [5] and Chalandon,[6] who both of them overlooked the correct identification in Stumpf's register of Henry VI's privileges as Val di Conza. The valley in question is formed by the Ofanto when it passes below Conza, a town which was the centre of a Norman county, and the name can be found in contemporary documents,[7] in the genitive, as *Consie;* so the Pisan transcribers [8] of the Emperor's letter simply mistook an i for an r, which at any time is an easy error to make.

The second, third and fourth shreds of evidence come from the English chronicler Roger of Hoveden,[9] who noted that after leaving Salerno the Emperor went to Melfi,[10] a town very slightly to the south-west of the Via Appia, where he received the surrender of all the towns of Apulia and then took by force the towns of Spinazzola,[11] actually on the Appia, and Policoro [12]

[1] ST., no. 4885.
[2] Province of Avellino.
[3] P. 449.
[4] Province of Salerno.
[5] P. 336.
[6] P. 483.
[7] CAT. BARON., § 694 and ST., no. 4708.
[8] Transunti IV, no. 684, in the Archivio Capitolare Pisa and TRONCI I, p. 385.
[9] Vol. 3, p. 269.
[10] Province of Potenza. Identified, incorrectly, in the Rolls edition of the chronicle as Amalfi.
[11] Province of Bari.
[12] Frazione of Montalbano Ionico, province of Matera. A Roman road ran from Melfi via Potenza to Policoro. The assumption that the Emperor was unlikely to have used it, because it went through extremely mountainous country held by the enemy, is confirmed by Hoveden's statement that the imperial army took Spinazzola, as this town is some 50 kilometers beyond Melfi.

on the Taranto-Reggio coastal road. The passage in which Hoveden provided this information is not entirely above reproach,[1] but in support of the three place names local contemporary evidence confirms the probability of his statement. Thus in the case of Melfi the Emperor's letter [2] to the Pisan section of his fleet mentioned the city's surrender. Resistance at Spinazzola was more than likely, for the place formed part of the county of Gravina [3] and its true count, Tancred de Saye, had been an exile at the imperial court since December 1191,[4] so that whoever held the county from the young King William had little temptation to come to terms with the invaders. Finally, Policoro was the property of Margaritus, the Sicilian admiral, a man who did not surrender to the Emperor until Queen Sybella had capitulated,[5] and his name also appears among Henry's more important enemies, who were taken as prisoners to Germany.[6]

Richard of San Germano recorded [7] that the surrender of the towns of Apulia, mentioned in Henry's letter to the Pisans [8] and in Hoveden, was accepted on the Emperor's behalf by Roffredus, Abbot of Montecassino, and the inference is that Henry himself concentrated on catching up with his fleet. Therefore, as far as Policoro, thanks to Hoveden, his route is comparatively well known. Thereafter the fortunate find of a summary of one of Henry's privileges in the Biblioteca Nazionale at Naples [9] establishes the fact that by 21 October the Emperor had rejoined the Via Popilia and was at Nicastro.[10]

Between Policoro and Reggio three branch roads link the coastal road with the Popilia. The first of these branches off at Policoro and goes to Saponara,[11] and to have followed it would

[1] The writer's statement, for instance, that Henry gave the Duchy of Durazzo and the principality of Taranto to Margaritus cannot be correct.

[2] St., no. 4886.

[3] Province of Bari.

[4] St., nos. 4727, 4730, 4755a.

[5] Hoveden 3, p. 269.

[6] Hist. Exped., p. 110; P. Eboli, pl. 42; cf. Jamison, Eugenius.

[7] ad. an. 1194.

[8] Henry announced the submission of Melfi, Potenza, Barletta, Bari, Molfetta, Giovinazzo, Siponto and Trani and was awaiting the surrender of Brindisi, see St., no. 4886.

[9] See App. II.

[10] Province of Catanzaro.

[11] Frazioni di Grumento Nova, province of Potenza.

have been a retrograde step for an army on its way to the Straits of Messina. The third of the branch roads can also be eliminated, because it joins the Popilia at Monteleone[1] well below Nicastro, so clearly it was the second branch road from Turio[2] to Morano[3] that the imperial army took, though the easy country in the plain of Sibari makes it likely that the Emperor rejoined the Popilia at Tarsia,[4] instead of following the main road up to Morano.

In view of the fact that the Emperor was at Nicastro on 21 October, the date of a dubious imperial privilege[5] to Messina, 27 October, is entirely acceptable for his arrival in that city; failing which Hoveden's less precise date (*ante festum Omnium Sanctorum*) makes it certain that Henry landed in the island of Sicily shortly before 1 November 1194. The naval forces waiting in Messina, under the command of the Marquis Arnold of Horenberg and the Emperor's steward Markwald,[6] after a sharp bout of fighting between the Pisans and the Genoese, had busied themselves with the conquest of Sicily. Even so Henry saw no reason for counting on the surrender of Palermo, for he prepared the beleaguerment of the capital by land and sea.[7]

Thereafter the closing stages of the campaign of 1194 emerge clearly from the accounts of the two contemporary south Italian chronicles of Montecassino and Ceccano, while Peter of Eboli's eulogistic poem supplies a few supplementary details. Toeche,[8] however, with decision, and Chalandon,[9] with hesitation, rejected the evidence in the Annals of Montecassino in favour of the account supplied by Richard of San Germano, whose chronicle for these years is neither contemporary nor accurate.

[1] Frazione of Vibo Valentia, province of Catanzaro. This road left the coast at Squillace, province of Catanzaro.

[2] Province of Cosenza, the Roman Thurium, CIL. 10^2, Tab. II.

[3] Province of Cosenza, the Roman Interamium, CIL. 10^2, Tab. II.

[4] Province of Cosenza.

[5] For the current position of the discussion see M. Gaudioso's article in the *Rivista di storia del diritto italiano*, 1938, and C. Giardina's reply in *Atti della Accademia Peloritana*, no. 41.

[6] St., no. 4886.

[7] OTTOBUONO, p. 51; ANN. CECCAN., p. 290, ll. 57, 58, 59, both versions.

[8] P. 342.

[9] Vol. 2, p. 485.

Toeche[1] also believed that the Annals of Ceccano[2] were in agreement with Richard of San Germano[2] in stating that the peace negotiations between Queen Sybella and the Emperor took place after Henry's triumphal entry into Palermo.[2] In fact, however, this was not the case, for if the Annals of Montecassino and the Annals of Ceccano are read in conjunction it is clear that their account of events is supplementary and not contradictory. Both passages[3] begin by recording the Emperor's arrival in Messina. The Annals of Ceccano then say that the Emperor advanced on Palermo by land and sea, while the Annals of Montecassino note that at this point the Queen sent her young son, King William, away from Palermo to take refuge in the inland stronghold of Caltabellotta,[4] whereupon the people of Palermo offered their surrender to the Emperor. The Annals of Ceccano in their turn also record this surrender and Peter of Eboli[5] adds the information that the envoys from the city found the Emperor in the Norman royal palace of Favara[6] and told him that the young King had gone to Caltabellotta. The Annals of Montecassino and the Annals of Ceccano then agree in their statement that the Emperor sent envoys to negotiate with the Queen and the Annals of Ceccano add the information that a Count from their part of the kingdom, Richard of Carinola, went with these envoys. The explanation of this fact is supplied by the Annals of Montecassino and Richard of San Germano, under the years 1191 and 1192, where they record this Count's activity in the war against the imperialists, which followed the Emperor's retreat in 1191, and his capture by the enemy. Count Richard, therefore, accompanied the envoys because he was a man in whom the Queen was likely to place her confidence. Both the Annals of Montecassino and those of Ceccano next give the terms of peace which the Emperor offered the Queen, as the grant to her or

[1] P. 342, note 2.

[2] ad. an. 1194. A similar account is given in the GESTA INN., col. 30.

[3] ANN. CASIN., ad. an. 1194; ANN. CECCAN., p. 290, ll. 58-70, both versions.

[4] Province of Agrigento.

[5] P. EBOLI, ll. 1231-4 and 1247-8.

[6] Also known as Dolce di Mare. Near Brancaccio on the outskirts of Palermo, see CTI *Guida, Sicilia*, p. 190. Its whereabouts puzzled Toeche.

to her son of the county of Lecce and the principality of Taranto. The Annals of Ceccano go on to record that in return the Queen was to surrender Caltabellotta, the castle to which she had sent her son for safety. The closing entry in the Annals of Montecassino confirms this statement by noting that shortly after Henry's entry into Palermo, King William and his crown were brought to the Emperor. The error concerning the timing of these events apparent in Richard of San Germano and the *Gesta Innocentii* was therefore caused by the confusion of the imperial embassy, sent to the Queen immediately before the Emperor's entry into Palermo, with the journey subsequently made to Caltabellotta in order to bring the young King back to the capital.

Consequently the actual sequence of events was that, as the Emperor approached the capital, Queen Sybella sent her son for safety to the castle of Caltabellotta. The citizens of Palermo, realizing that this had happened, offered their surrender to the Emperor and told him where the young King had gone. Henry, for whom a winter campaign in the centre of Sicily was an extremely serious commitment, then offered very favourable terms to the Queen, namely, possession for herself and her son of King Tancred's county of Lecce and of the principality of Taranto, if she would surrender the fortress of Caltabellotta, her son's person and the royal insignia. The Queen, relying on his good faith, as vouched for by Count Richard of Carinola, accepted the offer. So a hard marching rather than a hard fought campaign ended with Henry's triumphal entry into Palermo on 20 November 1194.[1] There followed the surrender of King William, who brought with him the royal crown of Sicily and on Christmas Day 1194 Henry VI of Hohenstaufen, Emperor of the Romans, was with all due ceremony crowned King of Sicily, the Duchy of Apulia and the Principality of Capua.

[1] Toeche, pp. 341, note 3; St., no. 4888.

APPENDIX I

WILLIAM, Count of Principato, confirms to the Abbey of the Holy Trinity, Cava, its possession of the church of St. Biagio, Satriano. April 1195, indiction 13. Original archive of Cava, Armario 1° H. no. 31. An extremely accurate transcription exists in the same archive: Dict. Archiv. Caven., t. ii, p. 247. Cited DI MEO 11, p. 96.

IN[1] NOMINE domini dei eterni et salvatoris nostri Iesu Christi, anno ab incarnatione eius millesimo centesimo nonagesimo quinto et quinto anno imperii domini Henrici dei gratia romanorum imperatoris et regis Sicilie semper augusti, mense Aprilis tertiedecime indictionis. Nos Guillielmus divina favente clementia comes Principatus, domini Henrici[2] similiter comitis de Principatu heres et quondam filius, pro remissione peccatorum nostrorum et salute anime predicti patris nostri, per huius privilegii paginam concedimus et confirmamus in ecclesia S. Blasii, que sita est in tenimento civitatis nostre Satriani,[3] homines, criptam, yscam[4] planam et omnes possessiones et universa tenimenta, que tenuit et possedit tempore domini regis Guilielmi[5] felicis memorie et tempore patris nostri domini comitis Henrici felicis recordationis. Ea videlicet ratione ut Cavense monasterium et pars eius omnia suprascripta sua potestate teneat et dominetur et de eis quod voluerit iusta ratione faciat, absque contrarietate nostra et heredum nostrorum, et cuiuslibet partis nostre rei puplice. Si vero aliqua nobis subiecta persona contra hanc nostre concessionis cartulam venire aut agere temptaverit, vel eam quolibet modo infringere quesiverit, centum aureorum penam incurrat medietate ipsius compositionis prefato monastero triduenda, altera medietate nostre camere applicanda. Ad perpetuam igitur memoriam et suprascripti monasterii firmitatem hanc paginam, tibi Nicolao notario, fideli nostro, scribere precepimus et sigilli nostri impressione bulla cera precepimus insigniri, eamque tibi fratri Guillielmo de Guardia, suprascripte ecclesie priori venerabili, iussumus assignari. N.S.

+ Signum crucis proprie manus domini comitis.
+ Ego Petrus iudex Eboli.[6]
+ Signum crucis domini Guilielmi de Pistillone.[7]

[1] Punctuation here, and in the Latin of Appendix II, has been modernized.

[2] CAT. BARON., forthcoming edition, ed. E. M. Jamison, identifies Count Henry as the natural brother of William I's Queen Margaret and Count William as Henry's son by the Countess Adelisia, a daughter of Roger II.

[3] Satriano di Lucania, province of Potenza. CAT. BARON., § 485. This document shows that Satriano was within the county of Principato.

[4] Dom L. Cerasoli, archivist of Cava, interpreted *yscam* (isclam) *planam* as the land in a river bed from which a crop is won during dry weather.

[5] William II.

[6] Province of Salerno. CAT. BARON., § 604/618, a fief of the county of Principato.

[7] Postiglione, province of Salerno. CAT. BARON., § 583/584. This document shows that Postiglione was in the county of Principato. Peter of Eboli, ll. 697-8,

+ Signam crucis Roberti de Contorsio.[1]
+ Signum manus Iohannis Caballi.
+ Signum proprie manus Nicolai de Depinto.
+ Ego Guilielmus filius Nichifori.

Seal rather worn.

APPENDIX II

Henry VI to Flora. 21 October, Nicastro, 1194

Ex processu reverendi Archiepiscopi Sanctae Severinae abbatis Sancti Ioannis in Flore cum regio fisco super transumptatione infrascriptorum privilegiorum concessorum quorundam bonorum et iurisditionum concessorum dictae abbatiae per serenissimum quondam Imperatorem Henricum sextum et Federicum secundum ex quo dicta privilegia vetustate temporis sunt consumpta in banco [regi cancelled] Peridel Abadia actuarii regiae Camerae Summariae, scriba Laurentius Mollus.

Privilegium originale, scriptum in pergameno [*sic*] litteris longobardis, imperatoris Henrici 6 Romanorum imperatoris, de donatione territorii abbatiae et monasterii Sancti Joannis in Flore[2] siti in tenimento Silae,[3] ad preces Joachim venerabilis abbatis de Flore, quod ipse Joachim de novo fundavit, sub data apud Neocastrum,[4] indictione 13, 12 Kalendas Novembris, anno 1195.[5] Regni eius anno 24, imperii vero 4. manu Alberti imperialis aule [two words blotted or cancelled, unread] prothonotarii et fuerunt presentes hi eidem privilegio.

Henricus Tricaricensis[6] Episcopus
Gualterius Troianus Episcopus

refers to William of Postiglione as: *Guilielmus de Pistilio, vir doctus in armis. Maluit exilium* (following the capture of the Empress Constance by the Tancredini) *quam temerare fidem.* Di Meo, ad. an. 1186, § 10 records the relationship of this same William to the Guarna family.

[1] Province of Salerno. Cat. Baron., § 480, a fief of the county of Principato.

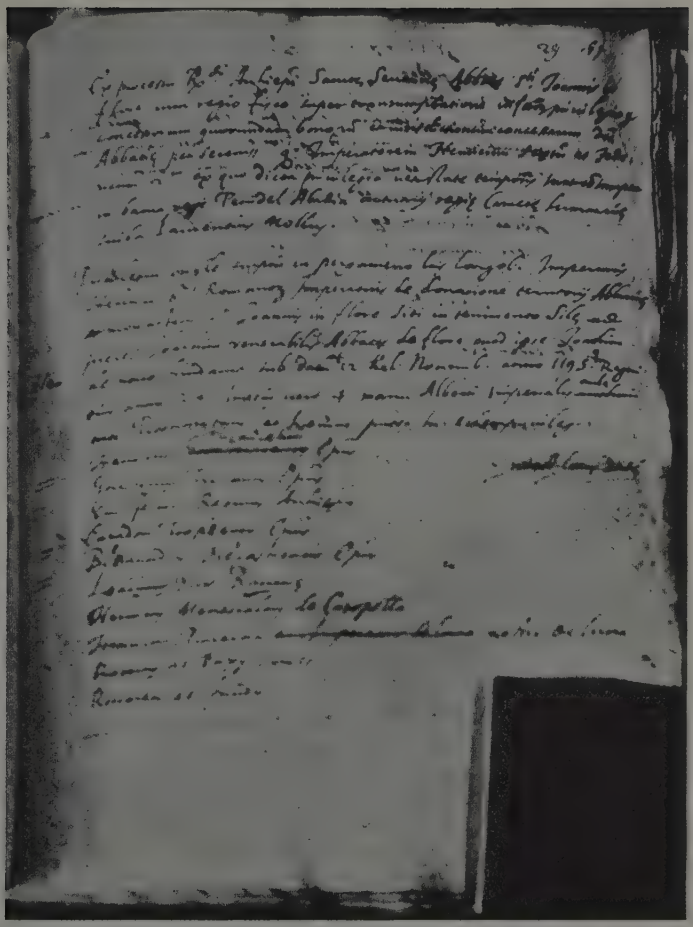
[2] San Giovanni in Fiore (province of Cosenza). The founder of the monastery, the Abbot Joachim (*c.* 1130-1201) mentioned in this privilege, had been the Cistercian abbot of Corazzo (province of Cosenza), whose writings and prophecies profoundly influenced the Spiritual party in the Franciscan Order.

[3] Sila, the mountain massive in central Calabria.

[4] The placename in the dating clause, Nicastro, comes from the margin, because Granata at first overlooked it and his note recording its absence has been crossed out.

[5] In October 1195, Henry VI was not in the south of Italy but another of his documents for the period, by the hand of the same prothonotary, also gives the year of our Lord as 1195 with the placename in the dating clause as Salerno. Since the original of this document survives, Cava, Arm L 40 = ST./4884, it appears that in the autumn of 1194 the imperial chancery changed the year of our Lord in September with the indiction.

[6] Below the word *Tricaricensis* another word has been crossed out. A possible reading for it is *Wormatiensis*, cf. Cava, Arm. L 40.



J. Granata's summary of the emperor Henry VI's privilege of the 21st October 1194, to the monastery of Flora. (*Reproduced by kind permission of the Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples.*)

[*To face page* 356.

Guillelmus [1] Reginus Archiepiscopus
Caradon Tropeensis Episcopus
Boemundus Neocastrensis Episcopus
Lodocus [2] Dux Bavariae
Henricus Marescalcus de Caropella [3] [abbrev. sign]
Henricus Pincerna noster de Luna [3]
Robertus de Duxii [3] Comes [4]
Riccardus de Fundis

MS. Brancacciano I F 5, Biblioteca Nazionale Naples, p. 84 R, see plate. This manuscript volume contains copies of documents from the Regia Cancelleria and the Archivio della Regia Camera e della Piazza del Popolo made, for the most part, by Camillo Tutini (1600-70). The summary of the imperial privilege given above is, however, in the hand of *frater Jacobus procuratorus Cartusianus*, v. Brancacciano II C 2., who was a friend of Tutini's. Brancacciano I F 2, p. 315, contains a list of the privileges in the possession of the abbey of Flora made in 1598, which records this privilege of Henry's, under the year 1195 as still extant in the original. I owe my first knowledge of the whereabouts, of both these manuscripts to the kindness of Miss E. M. Jamison and she has also helped in deciphering Granata's handwriting.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANN. CASIN. = *Annales Casinenses a. 1000/1212*, ed. G. H. Pertz in *MGH SS.* 19, Hanover 1866; ANN. CAVEN. = *Annales Cavenses* from the margin of *Beda de Temporibus*, ed. M. Morcaldi, M. Schiani, S de Stephano, O.S.B., in *Codex diplomaticus cavensis* 5, Milan, Pisa, Naples, 1878; ANN. CECCAN. = *Annales Ceccanenses*, ed. G. H. Pertz in *MGH. SS.* 19, Hanover 1866 and G. del Re as "Cronica di Fossa Nova" in *Cronisti e scrittori sincroni napoletani* 1, Naples, 1845; BERNHARDI = W. Bernhardi, *Lothar von Supplinburg* in *Jahrbücher der deutschen Geschichte*, Leipzig, 1879; BURCHARD = Burchard, provost of Ursperg, *Chronicon*, ed. O. Holder-Egger and B. von Simson in *MGH. SSUS.*, Hanover and Leipzig, 1916; CAFFARO = Caffaro, "Annali Genovesi", ed. L. J. Belgrano in *Fonti per la storia d'Italia*, Genoa, 1890; CAT. BARON. = *Catalogus baronum*, ed. C. Fimiani in *Commentariolus de subfeudis ex iure longobardico et neapolitano* . . . Naples, 1787; forthcoming publication of the Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, ed. E. M. Jamison; C. D. CAJET = *Codice diplomaticus cajetanus*, ed. Monachis S. Benedicti archicoenobi Montis

[1] Originally written Guilielmus but the second i has been crossed out.

[2] Some difficulty was experienced in spelling this name. Cava, Arm L 40 spells it Lodovvicus.

[3] The correct form of these names as they appear in Cava, Arm L 40 is: *de Kalendin, de Lutra* and *de Durne.*

[4] The word *Comes* clearly belongs to the line below, before the name of Richard of Fondi, for Robert de Durne's name can frequently be found on imperial privileges but without a comital title.

Casini in *Tabularium Casinense* 2, Montecassino, 1891; CHALANDON = F. Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile*, Paris, 1907; CIL = *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum* 9 and 10^2, Berlin, 1883; COHN = A. Cohn, Heinrich VI, Rom und Unteritalien in *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte*, 1, Göttingen, 1862; CRON. SUESSANUM = *Cronicon Suessanum*, ed. A. Pellicia in *Raccolta di varie croniche, diari ed altri opuscoli cosi' italiani come latini appartenenti alla storia del regno di Napoli* 1, Naples, 1780; DI MEO = A. di Meo, *Annali critico-diplomatici del regno di Napoli della mezzana eta'*, 11 and 12, Naples, 1810, 1819; FRIEDLAENDER = I. Friedlaender, "Die päpstlichen Legaten in Deutschland und Italien (1181/1198)" in *Historische Studien* 177, Berlin, 1928; GALLO = *Codice diplomatico normanno di Aversa*, ed. A. Gallo in *Documenti per la storia dell'Italia meridionale* 2, Naples, 1927; GARUFI = C. A. Garufi, *I documenti inediti dell'epoca normanna in Sicilia* in *Documenti per servire alla storia di Sicilia*, prima serie, diplomatica 18, Palermo, 1899; GARUFI, ASSO, 1913 = C. A. Garufi, "Per la storia dei secoli XI e XII" in *Archivio storico per la Sicilia orientale* 10, Catania, 1913; GARUFI, SALINAS = C. A. Garufi, "Margarito di Brindisi, Conte di Malta e ammiraglio del re di Sicilia" in *Miscellanea di archeologia, storia, filologia dedicata al Professore Salinas*, Palermo, 1907; GATTOLA = E. Gattola, *Ad historiam abbatiae cassinensis accessiones*, Venice, 1734; GESTA HENRICI = *Gesta regis Henrici secundi* 2 (incorrectly attributed to Benedict of Peterborough), ed. W. Stubbs, Rolls Series, London, 1867; GESTA INN. = *Gesta Innocentii PP III*, ed. J. P. Migne in *Patrologia latina* 214, Paris, 1855; GIARDINA = C. Giardina, *Capitoli e privilegi di Messina* in *Memorie e documenti di storia Siciliano*, Palermo, 1937; GREGOROVIUS = F. Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter*, 5th edn., vol. 4, Stuttgart u. Berlin, 1906; HALLER = J. Haller, "Heinrich VI. und die römische Kirche" in *Mittheilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 35, Innsbruck, 1914; HIST. EXPED. = *Historia de expeditione Friderici*, attributed to Ansbert, ed. A. Chroust in *Quellen zur Geschichte des Kreuzzuges Kaiser Friederichs* I. in *MGH. SSUS.*, Berlin, 1928; HOVEDEN = *Chronica magistri Rogeri de Hovedene*, ed. W. Stubbs in Rolls Series, London, 1870; JAMISON = E. Jamison, "The Norman administration of Apulia and Capua" in *Papers of the British School at Rome* 6, London, 1913; JAMISON, EUGENIUS = *Admiral Eugenius of Sicily*, a forthcoming publication of the British Academy; KEHR = P. Kehr, *Regnum normannorum, Italia pontificia* 8, in *Regesta pontificum romanorum*, Berlin, 1935; KEHR, QF. 1905 = P. Kehr, "Das Briefbuch des Thomas von Gaeta, Justitiars Friederichs II." in *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 8, Rome, 1905; MGH. CONST. = *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Legum*, sectio IV, *Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regum* 1, Hanover, 1893; MIGNE = *Clemens III Papa, Epistolae et privilegia* ed. J. P. Migne in *Patrologia Latina* 204, Paris, 1855; MONGITORE = A. Mongitore, *Monumenta historica sacrae domus mansionis SS. Trinitatis militaris ordinis teutonicorum urbis Panormi*, Palermo, 1721; MONGITORE, BULLAE = A. Mongitore, *Bullae privilegia et instrumenta Panormitanae metropolitanae ecclesiae*, Palermo, 1734; OTTOBUONO = *Ottoboni Scribae Annales a 1174-1196* in *Annali Genovesi* ed. L. T. Beltrano and C. Imperiale di Sant' Angelo in *Fonti per la storia d'Italia*, Rome, 1901; P. EBOLI = Petri Ansolini de Ebulo, *De rebus Siculis carmen*, ed. E. Rota in *Rerum italicarum scriptores* 31, 2nd edn., Citta' di Castello, 1904; PIRRI = R. Pirri, *Sicilia sacra*. 3rd edn., ed.

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NOTES ON THE DORSEY-STANLEY CORRESPONDENCE (1871-1873) IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY

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INTRODUCTORY

AMONG the Stanley family papers deposited in the Rylands Library is a batch of letters from Sarah Anne Ellis Dorsey (1829-79) to Edward Lyulph Stanley (1839-1925).[1] They number seventeen. The first is dated 12 January 1871, the last exactly two years later. Fifteen are letters by Mrs. Dorsey; the other two were written to her by American friends, and forwarded by her to Lyulph Stanley. Mrs. Dorsey was an American authoress living in Louisiana: Stanley was the third son of Edward John, 2nd Lord Stanley of Alderley (a title to which he eventually succeeded). The letters that passed from her to him, in this period, have a double interest. To begin with, they offer a glimpse at first-hand of life in a Southern State in the years after the American Civil War, while it was undergoing a particularly painful and complicated process of "Reconstruction". And secondly, in a wider context, they reveal something of the nature of Anglo-American relations during the nineteenth century.

Before the correspondence is discussed under these two aspects, something more should be said by way of introduction about the Southern lady and her English friend. Mrs. Dorsey was the daughter of Thomas G. P. Ellis and Mary Magdalen Routh.[2] The Ellises and the Rouths were wealthy families,

[1] Rylands English MS. 1094.

[2] The information on Mrs. Dorsey is drawn from the *Dictionary of American Biography* (*D.A.B.*); from Charlotte E. Lewis, *Sarah Anne Dorsey: a Critical Estimate* (unpublished thesis, Louisiana State University, 1940); and from W. A. Evans, 'Sarah Ann[e] Ellis Dorsey, Donor of Beauvoir', *Journal of Mississippi History*, vi, 2, April 1944, 89-102. For access to Miss Lewis's thesis and Dr. Evans's article, I am grateful to Miss Ruth Walling, Louisiana State University Library, and to Col. William D. McCain, Department of Archives and History, State of Mississippi.

who owned several cotton plantations in the rich Mississippi bottomlands of Concordia and Tensas parishes, in the State of Louisiana. Like other prosperous planters of the area, they also had handsome town-houses across the Mississippi river in Natchez. Here Sarah Ellis spent some of her time as a girl. She grew up, it seems, in a large and affluent family-circle, related in one way or another to many of the neighbouring planters.[1] Two of her aunts were novelists; one of them, a Mrs. Warfield, dedicated a novel (*The Household of Bouverie*) to her. Sarah was apparently "finished" by being sent on a European tour—and probably visited Europe several more times before her death.

In 1853 she married Samuel Worthington Dorsey, who came of a distinguished Maryland family, though he was one of its less distinguished members. For some reason he left Maryland and settled in Mississippi, where he began to practise law at Vicksburg. After a few years he abandoned the law to act as a plantation overseer. In this way he came into contact with the Routh family; for in 1848 he was managing "Last Retreat", their plantation in Tensas parish.[2] His status as overseer was a little ambiguous,[3] though his family connections made him in other respects an eligible match. At any rate, after his marriage he exchanged the role of overseer for the more gratifying one of planter. He and Sarah now had two plantations, "Elkridge" and "Limerick", each of 2,000 acres.[4] Their marriage—a childless one—lasted until

[1] E.g. to the Percys, a prominent Louisiana-Mississippi clan who claimed descent, through a Virginia settler, from the Percys of Northumberland (*Evans*, pp. 92-3.)

[2] *Evans*, p. 95.

[3] "Chief among freemen on the plantation was the overseer, pivot of the whole system of large estates. In Louisiana his tribe numbered nearly three thousand in 1860. These men, the sons of yeomen slaveholders or of poor farmers, were engaged by planters at salaries which ranged from $400 to $1,500. Some saved the money, or secured the credit necessary to buy a few Negroes and establish themselves as planters. Many more, changing from plantation to plantation every year, never rose beyond their station. In parishes such as Tensas and Concordia in the upper Mississippi black belt, where planters dwelt in mansions across the river in Natchez, nearly all the white residents formed 'a population of employés, not of owners [but of] overseers'."

Roger W. Shugg, *Origins of Class Struggle in Louisiana, 1840-1875* (Baton Rouge, 1939), p. 92.

[4] *Lewis*, p. 3.

Mr. Dorsey's death in 1876. One judges that, though they were contented enough, the husband did not share his wife's tastes; unlike her, he never ventured into print; and he is not usually mentioned in the letters from Mrs. Dorsey to Lyulph Stanley.

Though she was emphatically a Southerner, she held moderate views on slavery and busied herself with the welfare of the Dorsey negroes, for whom she maintained a school and organized religious services. A staunch Episcopalian, she acquired the pen-name of " Filia " [Ecclesiae] from letters on religious topics that she contributed to the New York *Churchman*. Always an extremely active person, she studied music, and found time to read widely and to pick up a working knowledge of two or three modern languages.[1] Her first book (1866) was a biography of her friend H. W. Allen, the Confederate governor of Louisiana. Her other work included four novels: *Lucia Dare* (1867), *Agnes Graham* (1869), *Athalie* (1852), and *Panola, a Tale of Louisiana* (1877). The heroines of these novels appear to be projections of their creator. Accomplished, sensitive and well-born, they flit to and fro across the Atlantic, writing letters at a great rate to explain their predicaments. Lucia Dare, for example, is an English girl, the daughter of Sir Hugh Dare, " Baron of Hurst ". She comes over to America, and there falls in love with one Reginald Laurie, the cousin of an American schoolmate she knew in Paris. Sir Hugh—something of a tyrant—wishes Lucia to marry an English nobleman; Sir Hugh dies; the Civil War breaks out—and so on. This curious farrago illustrates the romantic, impulsive, yet oddly intellectualized quality of Mrs. Dorsey's mind; for Lucy, like herself, is a bluestocking as well as a society lady. So is the heroine in *Athalie*, a young creole beauty who at a house-party in Louisiana falls in love with a German nobleman. (She is saved from the disastrous consequences of this infatuation by the good sense of her

[1] Thus in 1868 she translated *Uriel Acosta* (1849), a German play by Karl Gutzkow. Her translation appeared in *De Bow's Review* (New Orleans), xxxvii (1869), pp. 415-27 and in subsequent issues.

hostess—the sort of woman who might be considered a daughter of the church.)

As for Lyulph Stanley, his family was as well-placed in England as Mrs. Dorsey's in Louisiana.[1] His father, Lord Stanley, was active in Whig politics, and held cabinet office at various times. The eldest son, Henry, who succeeded to the title in 1869, began a career in the Foreign Office, but was too eccentric to pursue it; to the horror of his relatives he became a Mohammedan. The second son, Johnny, who died in 1878, entered the army. The fourth brother, Algernon, was destined for the Church—though he confounded expectation by choosing the Catholic Church. Of the four daughters who reached maturity, three married well, and one of these—Blanche, who became the Countess of Airlie—brilliantly. Lyulph himself went from Eton to Balliol where, after taking a first in *literae humaniores* under the auspices of the great Benjamin Jowett, he was elected (1862) to a fellowship. The Stanleys, as their record shows, held strong opinions and were not afraid to follow their inclinations. They liked Carlyle, who was a welcome visitor at Alderley; and Lyulph's mother, especially after her husband's death, did a great deal for the cause of women's education. Their correspondence reveals a certain contempt for established ideas; they were not, for instance, particularly impressed by the British monarchy. Yet this was an aristocratic rather than an intellectual attitude;[2] and of the Stanley children, only Lyulph can fairly be described as an intellectual, with opinions of a radical nature. His father might joke about the dullness of the royal household: Lyulph, at least as a young man, went much further, in disliking the very institution of monarchy. He chose friends with similar views. Thus his Balliol contemporary R. S. Wright,[3] then a

[1] Information on the Stanleys has been taken from the *Dictionary of National Biography* (*D.N.B.*); from two collections of letters ed. by Nancy Mitford, *The Ladies of Alderley, 1841-1850* (London, 1938) and *The Stanleys of Alderley, 1851-1865* (London, 1939); and from other Stanley papers in the Rylands Library (Eng. MS. 1092 and 1095).

[2] Exemplified also by their description of the Manchester businessmen who were beginning to invade Alderley as the "Cottontots".

[3] Sir Robert Samuel Wright (1839-1904): see *D.N.B.*

young barrister, wrote to him in 1871 (presumably with reference to the illness of the Prince of Wales):

> The London Press is distressing enough without reading sermon notes. Are the provincials as bad? But I doubt whether it is all 'loyalty'. It is part humbug as you say & part imitation and part the sickening sentimentality about youth & young married couples and death for which Dickens is very much answerable.
>
> I hope that a 12 or 15 years' minority might go far to put the royal humbug permanently out of sight.
>
> In any agitation I think it would be a mistake to treat a republican form as important chiefly for directly political purposes. It is socially that it would do most good.[1]

One or two other letters from friends[2] make it clear that Lyulph is to be classed with the "advanced" thinkers of the day, though he never made himself as conspicuous in this respect as, say, Sir Charles Dilke. As an undergraduate, he spoke at the Union in favour of universal suffrage, and informed his mother (in letters to her) that most of her beliefs were wrong: in fact, "we think so much in different grooves that I do not see how we can correspond in the true sense of the word".[3] During the 1870s (having resigned his Balliol fellowship in 1869), he devoted himself to social problems. In 1872 he was appointed assistant commissioner under the Friendly Societies Commission. Four years later he became a member of the London School Board; and for the rest of his life he was closely connected with educational movements. During the time covered by the Dorsey correspondence he campaigned unsuccessfully at Oldham, as a Liberal candidate for Parliament. After two defeats, he managed to win an election there in 1880, and remained an M.P. for five years.

In 1871, then, when these letters begin, the recipient was an earnest and sharp-minded bachelor in his early thirties, the sender a cultivated and warm-hearted matron ten years his senior. Their circumstances obviously differed a good deal; nevertheless, they had enough in common to "correspond in

[1] Eng. MS. 1095, Letter 25, 12 December, 1871.

[2] E.g. one from Frederic Harrison (Eng. MS. 1095, Letter 7), to announce the birth of a son who "is already exhibiting marked republican instincts".

[3] *Stanleys of Alderley*, pp. 273, 291-2, 309-10.

the true sense of the word". Both had conservative upbringings; still, Lyulph's acquired radicalism—even to its tinge of republican sentiment—fitted the radicalism that was natural to even a conservative American.

One other small preliminary question remains: that of how Lyulph and Mrs. Dorsey became acquainted. No satisfactory answer can be given. It is possible that the two had known one another for several years before 1871. Or, if not, then perhaps Mrs. Dorsey had known friends of the Stanleys, or other members of the family, during some visit to Europe. When Lord Stanley was staying at Cortachy Castle, with his son-in-law the Earl of Airlie, in August 1865, he mentioned another house-guest, "the Senora", who "has a vile American twang but is certainly pretty, forward, independant & hotly confederate & pro-slavery. She has a good deal of a sort of shrewdness, tells nigger stories of her management of the plantations, & sings Cuba songs."[1] For Lord Stanley, a dour man, this is high praise. The American lady, he goes on to say, has evidently made a great impression upon Airlie: so much so that it is fortunate she is not staying longer. There is no proof that "the Senora" was Mrs. Dorsey, though the plots and situations of her novels might be taken to support the theory. But whoever the unnamed lady was, it is apparent that the Stanley circle knew some Americans well enough to offer them hospitality.[2] Whether or not Lyulph knew Mrs. Dorsey as early as 1865, he certainly saw her during 1870. In that year he made a world tour, spending much of his time in the United States.[3] He visited the Southern States, and probably stayed with the Dorseys in Louisiana. Since his tour included Japan, he cannot have returned to England much before the end of 1870: i.e. not long before the first of this batch of letters from Mrs. Dorsey.

[1] *Stanleys of Alderley*, p. 358.

[2] Some Americans, referred to by Lord Stanley simply as "the Yankees", were at Cortachy when he stayed there in August 1858 (*Stanleys of Alderley*, p. 21).

[3] Eng. MS. 1095 includes a letter to Stanley from the Rochdale Equitable Pioneers' Society (Letter 22, 13 November 1871), about a lecture he has promised to give on the subject of his travels. The lecture is reported, lengthily, in the *Rochdale Observer* of 2 December 1871.

RECONSTRUCTION IN LOUISIANA[1]

Lecturing on his experiences in America, Lyulph Stanley was reported as saying

> that freedom was better than slavery for the negroes, and that they would be able to do well for themselves when freedom was granted to them. Their condition was often better than the lower class of whites, and all they needed to be taught was the lesson of thrift—not merely how to earn but how to save their money. Whilst admitting that a considerable degree of violence existed, he traced this in a great measure to the injustice and corruption of the Government of the United States. . . . As the bitterness of the war died out, and the people got the Government into their own hands and became more alive to their true interests, a vastly improved era of prosperity would dawn upon the South.[2]

Though to some extent Mrs. Dorsey would have agreed with this estimate, she was not able to feel as dispassionate, or as optimistic. The situation in Louisiana, at the period of her letters to Stanley, was appalling. The State had been invaded by Union forces during the Civil War, and had seen some heavy fighting as well as prolonged and destructive skirmishing. By 1868 it was theoretically " reconstructed ". In other words, it had—technically if not emotionally—accepted the fact of defeat, and of negro emancipation. It rejoined the Union, electing senators and representatives to Congress. It now came under civil instead of military law, though Federal troops remained in the State to preserve order if need be. For the time being, New Orleans was the seat of State government, and the new governor, elected in 1868 for a four-year term, was H. C. Warmoth. He afterwards wrote :

> I found the State and the city of New Orleans bankrupt. Interest on the State and City bonds had been in default for years . . . ; taxes for the years 1860 [to] 1867 were in arrears. . . . Among the first acts of the new Legislature was one to postpone the collection of all back taxes, and later they were postponed indefinitely. . . .

[1] Robert S. Henry, *The Story of Reconstruction* (Indianapolis, 1938), offers a useful general account, with clear summaries of events in Louisiana. For a more detailed interpretation, see John R. Ficklen, *History of Reconstruction in Louisiana* (*Through 1868*) (Baltimore, 1910), and Ella Lonn, *Reconstruction in Louisiana after 1868* (New York, 1918).

[2] *Rochdale Observer*, 2 December 1871.

> New Orleans was a dirty, impoverished, and hopeless city, with a mixed, ignorant, corrupt, and bloodthirsty gang in control. It was flooded with lotteries, gambling dens, and licensed brothels. Many of the city officials, as well as the police force, were thugs and murderers. . . .
>
> The levees of the . . . rivers were in a deplorable condition, having been cut in many places by both Armies for military purposes, and neglected for the past five years, flooding great areas of the State.
>
> The sugar, cotton, and rice planters were without money or credit, and their lands and buildings . . . were in a state of dilapidation; their labor was disorganized; their mules and horses were gone, and implements scattered. . . .[1]

Warmoth did not exaggerate. Even before the Civil War Louisiana had known chronic disorder. Added to this legacy, the upheavals of the war and post-war years made Warmoth's task well-nigh insoluble. Lyulph Stanley had declared that things would improve " as the bitterness of the war died out ". But at the time of Mrs. Dorsey's letters, bitterness was almost as strong as ever. Her class, hitherto the aristocracy and usually the political leaders of the State, was now in sorry shape. Active in the Confederate cause, some of them were disfranchised, many ruined financially, all resentful. They were angered by the claims to citizenship made by their former slaves; still more they detested the " carpetbaggers " (Northern interlopers) and " scalawags " (white men of their own State who aligned themselves with the Republican Party and the official Northern policy of Reconstruction) for debauching the negro population. Warmoth was a carpetbagger (though, by virtue of his Southern ancestry, he denied the charge); born in Illinois, he served in the Union army, remained in Louisiana at the war's end, and made such profitable use of his opportunities that, at the age of twenty-six, he managed to secure election as Republican governor.

The four years of his administration, to which Mrs. Dorsey frequently refers, were far from peaceful. Stanley had said that " the people " ought to get " the government into their own hands ". But who *were* the people? The answer varied according to one's viewpoint. The negroes, and the radically-minded Republicans in the State, thought the definition must

[1] Henry Clay Warmoth, *War, Politics, and Reconstruction* (New York, 1930), pp. 79-81.

include *coloured* people. Indeed, Warmoth's lieutenant-governor, Oscar J. Dunn, was a negro; and in the State legislature of 1868, six or seven of the thirty-six senators were coloured, as well as some forty-two (or about half) of the lower house.[1] The planters, on the other hand, and most of the poorer whites (the poorer the more prejudiced), considered that Louisiana could only function as a "white man's government". The movement to "Africanize" it was repugnant to them, especially when conducted by carpetbagging politicians; and so they enlisted in clandestine resistance-groups—the Knights of the White Camelia, the Ku Klux Klan.

In this time of hatred and confusion, quick-witted men like Warmoth came to the fore. It is hard to tell whether he was a sincere Unionist or an adroit rogue. Certainly he was a skilful politician; and the machinations in which he was involved, for all their cut-throat ruthlessness, often have an element of high comedy as he recounts them. Nor can one be altogether sure of the motives of a man like General James Longstreet, an eminent Confederate soldier, who at the end of the war settled in New Orleans as a businessman. Like his fellow-Confederates P. G. T. Beauregard and Jeff Thompson, who were also living in Louisiana, Longstreet tried to find a middle way between radical Republicans and "last-ditch" Democrats. Republicans were delighted to welcome him, as a prize exhibit; but the Democrats accused him of betraying the Southern cause, and there was widespread criticism when in 1869 he accepted from General Grant (the American president) the Republican party-appointment as surveyor to the port of New Orleans.[2] In this post he was in close contact with politics at their seamiest, mingling with such dubious characters as James F. Casey, the brother-in-law of Grant, who had been made collector of customs at New Orleans and who was one of the chiefs of the "Custom-House" ring. If Warmoth and

[1] The numbers are impossible to determine exactly, since several of the legislators were of mixed descent, and light-skinned enough to pass for whites. See W. E. B. DuBois, *Black Reconstruction* (New York, 1935), p. 471.

[2] See Donald B. Sanger and Thomas R. Hay, *James Longstreet* (Baton Rouge, 1952), pp. 332-47.

Longstreet were, despite appearances, honest men, it is difficult to say as much for one of their associates, George W. Carter, a " scalawag " who

> had been a Methodist preacher, and had held some high position in that connection. He had been President of a women's college at Oxford, Mississippi, and afterwards occupied a similar position somewhere in . . . Texas. It was said that at the breaking out of the War he had organized a Confederate cavalry regiment and officered it with members of the Methodist Church, and was himself the colonel. . . . It was especially armed, as I have learned since, with revolvers and Bowie knives, and seems to have displayed a very sanguinary spirit.[1]

Misjudging Carter, Warmoth helped him into office, only to discover within a few months that Carter was a completely unscrupulous enemy. When Mrs. Dorsey wrote to Lyulph Stanley on 12 January 1871,[2] Carter was Speaker of the Lower House in the State legislature, and engaged in an unedifying struggle with Warmoth :

> You see the corruption of the party in power [she writes] has at last brought about a collision. . . . Whether Carter can sustain himself *legally* is doubtful. He promises everything—but I doubt whether he has the power to fulfill. But one thing is most encouraging—that is the fact that the *People* are *awake* & *resolved* to put an end to this infamous abuse of Power on every hand—somehow the reforms have *got* to come ! & I thank God for this—*once more* I recognise my own people. They have been half dead & stupefied. But they are *resurrected*. . . . A new Party must come now & that soon. A Party of all good men of all sorts of opinions in the Past. It is the first hopeful sign for the future of the South, since the war. . . . A people that are truly Republicans [3] will not lose their liberties —I feared we would ! . . .

Mrs. Dorsey, though, goes on to deplore the behaviour of Longstreet, who in 1870 had " assumed command of the State militia under Warmoth. See, here comes the collision probably with his own people ! What a false position ! All in error of judgement. Hilcourt [?] writes these lines :

[1] *War, Politics and Reconstruction*, p. 109.

[2] Letter 1 [no address].

[3] Here, as later, when Mrs. Dorsey refers to Republicanism she means republican principles, *not* the Republican Party.

Longstreet

Oh, the blight of glorious days !
Eclipse of knightly deeds !
That Lee's ' old war horse ' ever should graze
In a pasture with scurvy steeds !

Our gorge rises up at the sight !
We could curse him—but ah ! we note
The great calm face that shone in the fight
And that bullet wound in his throat ![1]

Let us who have watched his rise
And loved him, forgive his fall,
And look at his life with tenderness
For God only sees it all."

In her next letter, of 22 March 1871,[2] Mrs. Dorsey gives further indication of the strength of Southern feeling when she discusses the Anglo-American commission that was meeting in Washington to examine American claims against Britain arising out of the Civil War. Though America was in a bellicose mood, she thinks that " the difficulty will gradually melt away. The U.S. can't go to war—with the South disaffected, especially on such a point." She continues :

> For my part I should be very glad if England never paid a dollar.[3] Why should not the North suffer for its villainy as she made us suffer—I want her to. Then we may be able to forgive her & patch up a decent reconciliation upon a new & broader basis of Republican principles. But it is only interest that holds us together & fear of you outside monarchical people. Otherwise, we don't like the Yankees. But if you drive the U.S. to the wall—we *might* fight—because we *are* Republicans after all & we shouldn't like our institutions to be entirely overthrown. In honest affection, we like England better than N[ew] England & we would fight for *Cromwell* any time but not for Victoria.

In her third letter, of 22 May 1871,[4] while reiterating that " reforms *must* come ", Mrs. Dorsey acknowledges also that " nothing can be forced upon any people—no reforms until

[1] Longstreet was wounded in May 1864, at the terrible three-day battle of the Wilderness. One may see a certain irony in the fact that—then as five years later—the fire came from his own side.

[2] Letter 2, from " Elkridge " plantation, in Tensas parish, La.

[3] Eventually, through the Geneva arbitration of 1872, England paid $15½ million to the U.S.

[4] Letter 3 [incomplete], " Elkridge ".

they are ready for them ". And throughout the correspondence she insists that Stanley misunderstands the negroes. They are not ready for the full equality that the radical Republicans (or Stanley himself) would confer upon them. Writing on 28 December 1871,[1] she explains that farms are rented to negroes. If they were sold outright, they would only be pledged to local money-lenders by the negroes :

> Mr. Dorsey will lose several thousand dollars that he has advanced to them. They go into debt at every little store about, & will have *nothing* in most instances to work on another year. There are a few exceptions, but very few who will have any money, & then we shall be forced to advance food & clothes & so it goes. We have again & again wiped out their debts & let them start afresh. They are like children with their money. The school goes on—but they are unwilling to let their children go to school during " cotton-picking "—they say they need them in the fields.

Eighteen months later, while Mrs. Dorsey has not fundamentally altered her opinion on negroes, she is a little readier to trust them as farmers :

> I have been busy all day drawing up deeds of sale to half dozen negroes of small pieces of land of my own which I have sold to them on easy terms & long time. I have sold one hundred & fifty acres to the six men. It is excellent land. I sell it for a bale of cotton to the acre payable in seven years without interest. I have also given 1000 acres of excellent land free of any charges to some old family negroes (about 30 of them) for three years—& then if they can buy it I will sell it to them. It made five hundred bales of cotton in 1862.[2]

In common with other Louisianians, she also began to modify her views on State politics. By 5 November 1871 she could admit that " Warmoth must be a man of extraordinary abilities & I have *nearly*, a curiosity to know him. Carpetbagger as he is." [3] Mrs. Dorsey had been talking over the situation with friends. Warmoth was showing himself a Republican of moderate principles. On that account he was opposed by the extreme Republicans (including the negro politicians O. J. Dunn and P. B. S. Pinchback) ; and as a governor who vetoed the more shameless bills that came to him from the legislature, he was opposed by the " Custom-House " ring. He was also

[1] Letter 8, " Elkridge ".
[2] Letter 17, " Elkridge ", 12 January 1873.
[3] Letter 5, " Elkridge ".

out of favour with General Grant and the Republican administration in Washington. In 1872, Grant would campaign for re-election to the presidency. So far, the Democrats in Louisiana had tended to ally with Warmoth's opponents. But this course, never morally commendable, was proving itself also politically inexpedient. Mrs. Dorsey was therefore contributing articles to the New Orleans *Times* to persuade local Democrats to form a coalition, if merely a temporary one, with Warmoth. She was no doubt herself persuaded by such friends as " J. M. S.", a letter from whom she forwarded to Stanley.[1] " One good opportunity we had ", says " J. M. S.",

> and could easily have beaten Warmouth [*sic*] and his *then*, wing of the Radicals, but our people were mulish—staid at home—wouldn't register —wouldn't go to the polls—said everything might go to the Devil before they would even wink at a half-way Radical to save the Govt. from destruction—and so, Warmouth & his friends came in by a few votes. . . .

Another chance had arisen, with the feud " between Warmouth and Grant's adherents in the Custom house " :

> And however rightful might be our complaints against the State Administration, it only followed—and at a long distance—in the wake of that at Washington, where a shameless, reckless, heartless, imbruted, devilishness and hate, was personified in the Acts of its Partizan Goverment [*sic*] towards the people of the South. Warmouth was a man of *Power*,—he was emphatically the *State*, politically, as the laws now exist :—the Custom house people were nobodies, without power & influence beyond the small circle of their own petty offices, and were only held to be of consequence because they represented Grant.
>
> Now, these Custom house people . . . promised to give to the Democrats (in New Orleans, of course, where the offices are) controll of the Presidential appointments—and of the State Goverment, if they, the Democrats, would help them to whip out Warmouth so as to carry the State for Grant in the Presidential contest—and our Senators, more blind even than moles—went in and got whipped on the first turn of the wheel . . . and they will not only be whipped in the next fight arranged

[1] Letter 7 [no address], 21 December 1871. " J. M. S." may be J. M. Sandidge, a Democrat who at the party's state convention in April 1872 supported a coalition with Warmoth against Grant and the Custom-House nominee, W. P. Kellogg (*War, Politics and Reconstruction*, p. 174). The only other letter of this series written *to* Mrs. Dorsey is no. 10, 5 January 1872. It is of no particular political interest. Its author is Thomas P. Farrar ; he writes from St. Joseph, the principal town of Tensas parish. Farrar was a well-known local citizen (see *Louisiana*, American Guide Series, 1941, p. 595).

for, but some of them (on the Custom house side)—members of the Legislature—will find themselves where they counted on putting Warmouth—ousted from their places. Warmouth can hold his own against the allied strength of the Custom house and Democracy in the Legislature—and, if compelled by such a war upon him, will fight it through on the extreme line of Radicalism, rather than be buried out of sight. He dont want to do this, and will not, I am assured, unless driven to it—would much prefer, when the proper time comes, to unite with all the good elements of the State for the establishment of the Goverment on a legitimate basis of Intelligence and strength—strength, which only a white man's Goverment or a Goverment controlled by white men, can give.

For these reasons, "J. M. S." argues, the Democrats must strike a bargain with Warmoth. If not,

It is also on the schedule of the Custom house and Democratic 'Ring' that, failing in every other way, to get ahead of Warmouth, real or pretended troubles shall be manufactured, to give Grant an excuse for declaring Martial law, and KuKluxing the state.

"J. M. S." concludes, however, that

some leather headed people, if they should but hear me talk this way, would be ready to swear that I had turned Radical, and be as ready to hang me as when I opposed their delirium of secession—and therefore—and because I can't afford to be mixed up with the Politics of the country, just now, and be cursed without reason, you will keep all this to yourself. . . .

"J. M. S." was not quite so isolated as he seemed to fear. Mrs. Dorsey writes on 3 January 1872 that General P. G. T. "Beauregard has come out in favour of a new party of 'all honest men, irrespective of past animosities'. I am afraid it is too late for the coming elections."[1] It was too late. For a while, though, it appeared that a new party might be born. At the Republican national convention, General Grant was nominated for re-election. But great numbers of his own party were, with reason, dissatisfied with his performance. Breaking away, as the Liberal Republican Party, they nominated their

[1] Letter 9, "Elkridge". In an addition to this letter, dated 4 January 1872, she mentions her own newspaper articles, which have been copied in some Georgia journals: "I have said *boldly* without giving offence to my own people, what has caused the utter *detestation* of Longstreet & Thompson & others. They are not wrong in fact—but in manner & mode of action etc. So they were driven *into Coventry*. But they will not drive *me* there—I love them too much, but I shall tell them the truth if I can. It is a great comfort to me that so far they take it so patiently." (General Thompson had been appointed as chief state engineer by Warmoth.)

own candidate for the presidency—Horace Greeley, the famous editor of the New York *Tribune*. When the Democrats held their national convention, at Baltimore, they decided to throw in their lot with the Liberal Republicans and endorse Greeley.[1] Mrs. Dorsey attended the Baltimore convention

> on the Day of Nomination through the courtesy of the La. [Louisiana] Delegation one of whose members came to escort me [in]. . . . I was quite interested—you know I wrote you last summer that I thought Greeley would be sustained by the South if he ran. It has been a hard struggle for the Democrats. . . . I do think that those men behaved in the noblest manner when they sacrificed their party to the country's pacification.[2]

But Greeley was an unfortunate choice. The best candidate, as Mrs. Dorsey noted, would have been Charles Francis Adams, the son and grandson of American presidents, and former minister to Britain. Greeley was handicapped by his fatal habit of pronouncing an opinion on every conceivable topic. It was a life-long habit; and he found it difficult to convince Southerners (white or black) that he was acceptable. "For thirty years", he said, "I have battled for the liberation of the slaves, but never did it occur to me that I should be called upon to assist in the liberation of the masters".[3] As the presidential campaign moved towards the November polling, the Liberal Republicans and the Democrats who had sided with them were not jubilant. Greeley redoubled his efforts, yet only succeeded in making himself a little ridiculous; a multitude of old editorial extravagances came home to roost. Grant, by contrast, had the advantage of being entrenched in office; he was still a war-hero to the American public; and

[1] One of the main inducements for the Democrats was clause 3 of the Liberal Republican Party platform, which said: "We demand the immediate and absolute removal of all disabilities imposed on account of the Rebellion, . . . believing that universal amnesty will result in complete pacification in all sections of the country." They were also attracted by clause 4, which was a strong plea for local self-government, and civil instead of military rule.

[2] Letter 13, "Bedford Springs" [Pennsylvania], 27 July 1872. Mrs. Dorsey had come to this resort on account of her husband's health. She found society there interesting if not entirely congenial. It included "a great many leading American Radicals. I have been presented to some—Simon Cameron is here & others like him. They are quite low spirited about the Presidential canvass."

[3] Quoted in *War, Politics and Reconstruction*, p. 181.

he had powerful friends. So, on 13 September 1872, Mrs. Dorsey told Lyulph Stanley that

> In our Political world there is a good deal of *excitement* but no *enthusiasm*. It seems to me, tho' I can scarcely give you a good reason for saying so, that Greeley is rather losing ground lately. He is *speaking* too much. The South will vote for him & it is at any rate good that she is forced to re-enter into political & amicable relations with the rest of the Country. Grant is an obstinate fool, but he is sustained by all the manufacturing & R.R. [railroad] interests,[1] who fear the sudden resumption of specie payment,[2] which Greeley is committed to favour.[3]

On 29 October 1872, on the eve of polling, Mrs. Dorsey writes :

> There is considerable excitement in regard to the Election next Monday. I think Grant will be elected. The R.R. interest is so strong & he is committed to a *protective* policy. The State Elections are more important to us. They are doubtful owing to the division of parties. There are no less than five parties with nominations in this State. Divide et impera—the Radicals here have learnt that lesson. The negroes will vote en masse for Grant, & for the Radicals—*who are not the Liberals here but rather Conservative*—such is the mutation of popular will. Warmouth who was detested last year, is now the most popular man in the State. He is turned *Liberal*—it is a queer world ! I am glad *I* haven't the responsibility of managing it.[4]

[1] Clause 10 of the Liberal Republican platform declared : " We are opposed to all further grants of land to railroads or other corporations. The public domain should be held sacred to actual settlers."

[2] Clause 8 of the Liberal Republican platform said : " A speedy return to specie payment is demanded alike by the highest considerations of commercial morality and honest government."

[3] Letter 14, " Point Comfort, Va.". Mrs. Dorsey had been ill of fever, and so had gone to the Virginia coast to recuperate. Point Comfort was near " Fortress Monroe, where my friend Jeff Davis spent so many weary months. . . . I shall before I leave try to see the cell where he was imprisoned & *fettered*." Jefferson Davis, a Mississippi planter, had been president of the Confederate States. At the end of the Civil War he was arrested and imprisoned for a while. In Letter 15, " Elkridge ", 1 October 1872, Mrs. Dorsey says that on her return from Point Comfort to Louisiana, " I had such a delightful day in Memphis with Mrs. Jeff Davis—I am so sorry you did not meet them—she is perfectly charming in conversation—so witty, so bright, so amusing—& He is also very interesting." Mrs. Varina Howell Davis was an old friend of Sarah Dorsey's, who in the last two years of her life helped Jefferson Davis to prepare his apologia, *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government* (1881). In her will, she left him her house " Beauvoir ", in Mississippi, now known as the Jefferson Davis Shrine.

[4] Letter 16, " Elkridge ".

As Mrs. Dorsey anticipated, Grant was re-elected;[1] and as she indicated, the political situation in Louisiana had almost reached the limits of absurdity. The five groups of whom she spoke were:

(1) " last-ditch " Democrats;
(2) the " Reform " group (mostly Democrats);
(3) Custom-House Republicans (led by the U.S. Marshal, S. B. Packard);
(4) the Radical Republican " bolters " (led by the coloured Lieutenant-Governor, P. B. S. Pinchback, who had succeeded O. J. Dunn on the latter's death in November 1871);
(5) Liberal Republicans (the Warmoth group).

During the summer of 1872, Warmoth had come to a temporary understanding—though it did not last long—with the two Democratic wings, while the Packard and Pinchback *blocs* had also agreed to co-operate. Warmoth himself was not a candidate for re-election to the governorship, but he controlled the State's election machinery. Packard, however, controlled the *federal* supervision of elections, and did not scruple to trump Warmoth's ace. The result was an amazing display of chicanery, with two governors claiming victory over one another, two rival legislatures, two sets of courts, three contenders for the state-secretaryship (each maintaining he had been legitimately appointed), and as many as four election returning-boards. Warmoth's candidates appear to have deserved *de jure* recognition; but Packard's team achieved *de facto* supremacy. Bombarded with contradictory telegrams from the two factions, General Grant in Washington (influenced in particular by the messages from his brother-in-law Collector Casey) did not trouble to investigate the intricate tale of right and wrong. Instead, he supported the Custom-House party, whose claims were enforced by the use of federal troops. It was the outcome that " J. M. S." had more or less predicted. Congress, and the country as a whole, had to admit that the scandals in

[1] Of the former Confederate States, only Texas, Tennessee and Georgia were credited to Greeley.

Louisiana, for which the federal government's unwarranted intervention must be held partly responsible, surpassed even the previous records of the Reconstruction era.[1] "Of course", Mrs. Dorsey writes on 12 January 1873,

> you have seen by the papers the condition of our Politics. Tho' they seem small & far off yet the *issue* now at stake is really Republicanism *v.* Centralization—a matter which concerns humanity not we poor Louisianians alone. I have been deeply interested (more than I desire to be) in this struggle for the republican life of La. I have suffered a good deal in sympathy with my friends who have worked so hard to get rid of the present carpetbagging rule in La. which is depressing her credit & robbing her treasury & making her people despair utterly. . . . I wish I could bury myself in my books & ignore everything in my daily life. But I cannot. I *do not like* Grant! I do not trust him! He is pigheaded & he wants to get up a war somewhere. We have had wars enough. We have too much legislation. I did not care for Greeley—but he was really a better man than Grant is personally. Poor old Greeley! too weak to bear disappointment! . . .[2]

This is the last of Mrs. Dorsey's letters to Lyulph Stanley. She cannot have extracted much comfort from the Louisiana scene in the years that followed; for in the elections of 1876 the State amazed even the most hardened cynics, so shameless were its electoral frauds. Yet perhaps Mrs. Dorsey did draw some consolation from the spectacle. Louisiana sold its votes to good purpose, for in 1877 it and the other Southern States were left entirely free to rule—or misrule—themselves. If the reforms she sighed for never came, at any rate the "white man's government" to which the Democrats looked forward soon emerged as a reality. The "people" of whom Lyulph Stanley had spoken were defined as the *white* people; the negroes gradually disappeared from the legislature—and from the

[1] The situation is explored, in all its grotesque and grimy detail, in Executive Document no. 91, H. of R., 42nd Congress, 3rd sess. ("Condition of Affairs in Louisiana"). And see Senate Report no. 417, 42nd Congress, 3rd sess. ("The Electoral Vote in Louisiana"), which examines the means by which Louisiana was made safe for General Grant.

[2] Letter 17, "Elkridge". Greeley died—some said of a "broken heart"—three weeks after the election: an election in which, as he put it, "I was the worst beaten man who ever ran for high office. And I have been assailed so bitterly that I hardly knew whether I was running for President or the Penitentiary."

polling-booths and electoral registers. Warmoth withdrew, as a sugar-planter; Longstreet moved to Georgia; Mrs. Dorsey herself retired to "Beauvoir", a house on the Gulf Coast in Mississippi. Old quarrels continued to flare up—Longstreet was involved in controversies over his part in Warmoth's administration, or in the battle of Gettysburg, a generation after the actual events—but little by little, time began to effect the reconciliations that men refused.

ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS

Anglo-American relations, of course, are many-sided and reach back several centuries. Historians tend to ignore such truisms; and perhaps on that account the subject of Anglo-American relations has not yet been adequately studied. Yet it is a fascinating one, and so various that even the small bundle of letters from Mrs. Dorsey suggests a score of topics.

Her comments on the diplomatic negotiations of 1871-2, to name one, are a reminder that though the two countries have not been at war with one another since 1814, they have often been at loggerheads. There was serious talk of Anglo-American war as recently as 1895. But they did not fight then; and Mrs. Dorsey's correspondence indicates some of the bonds of interest that have made our relationship one of continuous, irritable companionship. Thus, she shared the same religious heritage as Lyulph Stanley, though they did not draw quite the same conclusions. She conceded that religions are temporal affairs to the extent that the form of a particular religion fits a particular time and place; "if I had been Socrates", she says, "I should also have sacrificed a cock to Aesculapius".[1] Nevertheless, to say that Christianity was essentially a Western religion was not to deny its truth for *us*. Again, she shared Stanley's view of education, and wrote anxiously[2] to ask his advice on whether she should accept the presidency of a female college near Baltimore (she decided not to). She admired Stanley's mother for contriving to be an advocate of women's

[1] Letter 13, 27 July 1872.
[2] Letter 6, "Elkridge", 9 November 1871.

rights without also being a "radical" reformer on the New England model.[1]

In general, then, Mrs. Dorsey—like her English friend—moved with the great currents of Anglo-American ideas. Her letters are not monopolized by Louisiana politics; indeed, most of the time she is discussing books, authors, literary and philosophical problems. It cannot be said that her observations are profound. Yet they are fresh, sincere and likeable. She either knew or knew about most of the figures in the Anglo-American world of letters. In the summer of 1871 she was able to visit England. Lyulph was away at the time on the Continent, but Lady Stanley entertained her:

> The day after you went came that letter from Mrs Dorsey so I wrote to her & took her to Carlyle who discoursed to her for one hour & a half & she was most delighted. I then took her to the Kensington Museum & yesterday Maude [Lyulph's unmarried sister, with whom Mrs. Dorsey afterwards exchanged drawings of local scenery, etc.] accompanied her to the National Gallery. I have asked her to dinner on Friday—the Airlies dine here & I am trying to get up a dinner. I found her very pl[easant?] & we got on very [well?—*page torn*] together. She is much younger than you represented her.[2]

Carlyle—and Dean Stanley, Lyulph's relative—joined her list of correspondents, though one does not know whether they replied faithfully, and read the books she recommended.[3]

The picture broadens with a letter to Stanley after her return to America:[4]

> We are resting our weary feet for a few days here in the house of my husband's sister. It is a very pretty place near Ellicott's Mills—of which

[1] Though Lady Stanley was not always intellectually in harmony with Mrs. Dorsey. She tells her son Lyulph (Eng. MS. 1092, Letter 151, 17 January 1872) that Mrs. Dorsey has sent her "a book on the Other World which is not in my way".

[2] English MS. 1092, Letter 104, Sunday 2 July 1871.

[3] In Letter 5, 5 November 1871, Mrs. Dorsey says that she has sent copies of Mrs. Leonowens' book on Siam to both Carlyle and Dean Stanley.

[4] Letter 4, "Elmonte, Howard County, Maryland", 6 September 1871. In this, Mrs. Dorsey also speaks of having met "Mr. Benjamin in Liverpool". This was Judah P. Benjamin, a Louisiana politician who held cabinet office in the Confederate government. After the war he went to England, to become a barrister (and eventually a Q.C.). When Mrs. Dorsey met him in 1871 he was practising on the northern circuit.

you have some recollection from your visits to the Kennedys [1] & Latrobes.[2] We got here only yesterday & I hasten to renew my acknowledgments to my dear friends in England of the kindness & hospitality they showed us during our travel in that charming country.

On the ship she met " an Hon. Col. Dalzell & daughter, whom I liked. They are friends of your cousins, the [Adeanes]." They had been promised some American addresses by Lyulph. She gave them a few—" not that they asked for any—but because they had *mentioned* your name ". Chatting about her husband's relatives around Baltimore, Mrs. Dorsey says : " the next time you come to America [3] I should like you to know some of these good people here, I think you would like them & if Lord Airlie should come, let me know in time to send him some cards of introduction here."

And when she reached New York, Mrs. Dorsey had gone to stay with Professor and Mrs. Anne Botta. " There were a thousand questions asked & answered about you—& I told them how good you & your family had been to us." Anne Botta (*née* Lynch) was a remarkable woman, a third-rate writer and a first-rate hostess. Her husband was an Italian who arrived in America in 1853 to study the school-systems, and liked the country so well that he stopped there. The Bottas were wealthy and loved to entertain men of letters ; Emerson called their New York home " the house of the expanding doors ", and in earlier days Poe was a frequenter of Anne Lynch's *salon*.[4] Lyulph Stanley was no doubt one of many visiting Englishmen whose acquaintance they made. As Mrs. Dorsey informed him on 12 January 1873,

[1] Presumably John Pendleton Kennedy, a Baltimore lawyer-author of some reputation (whose wife came from Ellicott Mills). He saw a good deal of Thackeray when the latter visited the U.S., and supplied material for Thackeray's *The Virginians*. He held cabinet rank, as secretary of the navy, during the 1850s. (*D.A.B.*).

[2] The Latrobes were a versatile and highly successful Baltimore family, at least one member of whom sided with the Confederacy (*D.A.B.*).

[3] In Eng. MS. 1092, Letter 220, 7 August 1874, Lady Stanley asks Lyulph whether he has definitely decided on another journey to America. From subsequent correspondence it would seem that he did not go after all.

[4] See Hervey Allen, *Israfel : the Life and Times of Edgar Allan Poe* (London, 1935), pp. 541-4. Both the Bottas have an entry in *D.A.B.*

> I had a letter from Anne B. today. She is perfectly charmed with Froude & likes Tyndall. She mentions your engagement, so you see the bonds of sympathy stretch across the sea & over all this continent.[1]

One does not wish to imply that casual acquaintanceships are in themselves significant, still less that all American and all British intelligentsia formed a great convivial assembly. The point, rather, is that there were a surprising *number* of acquaintanceships, and even of close friendships. We can think here of the long amity between Emerson and Carlyle; or of Henry Adams and such English cronies as Milnes Gaskell and Thomas Hughes;[2] or of the affectionate exchanges of the novelist Mrs. Gaskell with the Harvard Professor Charles Eliot Norton.[3] Collectively, these cultural ties are impressive. The same could be said of the connections between the labour movements of the period, when men like Henry George were equally famous (or notorious) on both sides of the Atlantic.[4] Or much could be said of commercial ties. One might mention, as examples of Americans in Britain, George Francis Train, who introduced street tramways to this country; or, a generation later, Charles T. Yerkes, who organized the financing of London's subways. In this respect, however, the stream of influence ran mainly the other way, with British capitalists like Sir Samuel Morton Peto endeavouring to promote American railroads,[5] and with British investors heavily involved in American ventures. Lady Stanley, for instance, had financial as well as social reasons for keeping an eye on the United

[1] Letter 17, "Elkridge". The historian James Anthony Froude and the scientist John Tyndall were in America at this time, on lecture tours. Perhaps Mrs. Botta merely heard them lecture; but it seems likely that she also met them, since she was an indefatigable friend to the accomplished. Lyulph Stanley was married in 1873 to Miss Mary Bell. When he proposed to visit America in 1874, his mother disapproved of "leaving your little wifie alone".

[2] Hughes' amazing book, *Rugby, Tennessee* (London, 1881), explains his attempt to export the muscular Christianity of Dr. Arnold to the Cumberland plateau of Tennessee. The colony, alas, was a failure.

[3] See Jane Whitehill (ed.), *Letters of Mrs. Gaskell and Charles Eliot Norton, 1855-1865* (Oxford, 1932).

[4] See Peter D. Jones, *Henry George and British Socialism* (unpublished thesis, Manchester University, 1953).

[5] Mr. J. F. S. Russell is making a study of this subject.

States. In letters to Lyulph she often discusses her American investments.[1] On 19 January 1872 she asks him " what you think of our relations with America & whether all this bluster on their part will end in a war & in the loss of our American Securities ".[2] A few days later she reverts to the problem :

> I am very anxious indeed about my American securities. On all sides I hear people selling them off . . . do tell me what you advise at once—you know all my private money is in American securities.[3]

Lyulph, apparently, was able to reassure her.[4]

In short, during the period of Mrs. Dorsey's correspondence English interest in and knowledge of the United States was remarkably wide : perhaps, oddly enough, more so than today. For the poor man, it was a land to which one might emigrate. For the well-to-do, it was—to say the least—an object of curiosity, and therefore a place to visit. Innumerable British travellers crossed the Atlantic in order to receive impressions of the New World ; a depressingly high proportion transferred their impressions to the printed page.[5] Even within the limited area of Mrs. Dorsey's letters, we can note the presence of three somewhat different types of English traveller, all three members of the Stanley family.

First comes Lyulph, whose American journey has already been mentioned. He represents the serious investigator, concerned with social problems, the limitations of democracy and so on. When, as in Lyulph Stanley's case, the investigator had titled connections, he was apt to be lionized by the more snobbish Americans. Yet his inquiries were sometimes resented a little. When he intruded into American fiction—e.g. as Mr. Lyon, the son of the " Earl of Chisholm ", in Charles Dudley Warner's *A Little Journey in the World* (1889)—he was made to seem slightly foolish :

[1] E.g. on 17 January 1872 (Eng. MS. 1092, Letter 151) she lists her holdings in Omaha bonds, and several railroads—including the Illinois & St. Louis, the Detroit & Milwaukee, the Illinois Central, the Missouri, Kansas & Texas, and the Union Pacific.

[2] Eng. MS. 1092, Letter 153.

[3] Eng. MS., 1092, Letter 160.

[4] See Eng. MS. 1092, Letter 162.

[5] Some of these travel-accounts are analysed in Allan Nevins' excellent compilation, *America Through British Eyes* (New York, 1948).

"It seems to me", said Mr. Lyon, who was always in the conversational position of wanting to know, "that you Americans are disturbed by the notion that religion ought to produce social equality."

Mr. Lyon had the air of conveying the impression that this question was settled in England, and that America was interesting on account of numerous experiments of this sort. This state of mind was not offensive to his interlocutors, because they were accustomed to it in transatlantic visitors.

Next to this excerpt we may put a comment from Mrs. Dorsey:

it is a great pleasure to live in a country so filled with subtle antiquities. . . . But yet all that weight of antiquity & custom must fetter you—Festina lente is always the motto of your people. . . . We have the advantage of lighter weights. But then we are apt to rush off our tracks worse than the locomotives of the Mississippi Central![1]

Lyulph and Mr. Lyon are clearly not identical characters. But these American remarks show that the investigators were themselves under investigation, though of the friendliest kind.

So were the second type of English visitors, whom we may call the excursionists. In fiction, they are wittily scrutinized by Henry James (the prime expert on Anglo-American attitudes), in his short novel *An International Episode* (1879). Here, Lord Lambeth and his cousin Percy Beaumont arrive in New York, ostensibly on railroad business, but principally—in Lambeth's words—"for the lark". They enjoy themselves, and Lord Lambeth is rather vaguely and inarticulately taken with a pretty American girl. But they depart without generalizing about America—without even paying much attention to New York:

Percy Beaumont had suggested that they ought to see something of the town; but "Oh, d—n the town!" his noble kinsman had rejoined.

Within the Stanley family, the excursionist was Lyulph's brother Johnny, a Guards officer, cheerful, boyish and determinedly unintellectual (when serving in India, he spoke of all natives as "niggers"). He turns up in Mrs. Dorsey's pages on 13 September 1872, when she was in Virginia, recovering from an illness:

[1] Letter 3, "Elkridge", 22 May 1871.

> I was in hopes to have been in N.Y. in time to meet Col. & Mrs Stanley, but now we shall not have the pleasure of seeing them unless they should come to the South. I have sent letters to Col. Stanley through my friend Mr N. B. Duncan of N.Y. inviting them to visit us & enclosing some letters which they will find useful in Philadelphia & Baltimore. . . .[1]

On 1 October 1872, Mrs. Dorsey says she " had a letter from Mrs. Stanley—she was at the Latrobes near Baltimore. I am sorry to have missed them."[2] And there we leave Johnny; like other excursionists, he has reared no permanent monument.

The third group is not entirely separate from the second; and the Earl of Airlie, its Stanley representative, may certainly be thought of as an excursionist. But the third class are a special category: the Frontier or Wild West tourists. There were dozens of them, and their motives were mixed.[3] They wanted to see cowboys and Indians in their habitat; they liked to travel long distances on railway trains, or to shoot buffalo and grizzly bears, or to view the scandalous Mormons in Utah,[4] or to take up cattle-ranching—or to do all these things. The Earl of Dunraven, author of *The Great Divide* (1874), camped in Colorado. The Duke of Argyll took a hunting-party out to the West in 1881. The Earl of Airlie, one imagines, responded to the same fascinations. From references in the Dorsey and Stanley correspondence, it looks as though he had long been anticipating an American tour. How soon he achieved his ambition and how often he renewed it are uncertain. One reliable fact is his obituary notice, in the London *Times* of Tuesday, 27 September 1881:

> Our Philadelphia correspondent telegraphs that the Earl of Airlie died suddenly on Sunday last at an hotel in Denver City, Colorado, from a chill and congestion. His Lordship was on a visit to Denver with his second

[1] Letter 14.

[2] Letter 15, " Elkridge ".

[3] Robert G. Athearn, *Westward the Briton* (New York, 1953), gives a pleasant account of their assorted experiences. One of the Britons was Maurice Kingsley, the son of Charles Kingsley. He lived in Colorado Springs, as secretary of the colony that had founded the place.

[4] Lyulph Stanley, while in the American West, investigated polygamy in Utah, and also the " intense connection between Church and State " there, and " the system of ecclesiastical tyranny which prevailed " (*Rochdale Observer*, 2 December 1871).

son, for whom he had bought a farm. . . . His eldest son, Lord Ogilvy, who now succeeds to the earldom of Airlie, is at present in India with his regiment,

A ranch under the edge of the Rocky Mountains, broken-down plantations in Louisiana, the placid countryside of Alderley, electioneering in New Orleans and in Oldham : such seemingly incongruous items are embraced in Mrs. Dorsey's simple, hurried letters to her friend, and have their pattern in the Anglo-American world in which she moved.

ON THE "RECENSIO LACAPENIANA" OF EUNAPIUS' *VITAE SOPHISTARUM*

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IN his *Prolegomena*[1] V. Lundström was the first to draw the attention of scholars to the fact that the text of Vita Libanii by Eunapius that is preserved separately in several manuscripts, in which it is prefixed to various works of Libanius, differs in many points from the text of the Vitae Libanii contained in the archetypus in which Eunapius' whole biographical work, the Vitae Sophistarum, has come down to us.[2]

There are of course a few slight textual discrepancies between the various manuscripts containing the Vita Libanii in isolation,[3] but there is no doubt that the text preserved in all of them has descended from one common source, the original text of which can easily be reconstructed. Since the text of the version in question is prefixed, in seven manuscripts out of twelve, to the collection of Libanius' letters which is known to have been edited by Georgios Lacapenos in the fourteenth century, Lundström came to the conclusion that Lacapenos himself should be considered its author. The discrepancies between the Lacapenian version and the one preserved in the Laurentianus 86, 7 can be seen in the interlinear edition published by Lundström (*Prolegomena*, pp. 26 ff.) in which the upper line of each couple gives the text of the Laurentianus, and the lower one that established by Lacapenos: a few mistakes that escaped Lundström's attention were corrected by Vollebregt, who published both versions in a duplicate text to which the reader is referred here.[4]

[1] V. Lundström, *Prolegomena in Eunapii Vitas:* "Skr. utg. af Kgl. Vetensk.-Samf. i Upsala," vi. (1897), 2.

[2] A list of all the manuscripts that are descended from Laur. 86, 7 (the archetypus) is given by Lundström (p. 8) and by J. C. Vollebregt, *Symbola in novam Eunapii Vitarum editionem*, Amsterdam, 1929, pp. 12 f.

[3] These manuscripts are listed by Förster, *Libanii Opera*, i. 1 f. (cf. also Lundström, *Prolegomena*, pp. 21 ff. and Vollebregt, *Symbola*, pp. 12 ff.).

[4] I quote from the Didot edition by Boissonade (page and line).

An investigation of some discrepancies from the text of the Laurentianus that were contained in the Lacapenian version led Lundström to the conclusion that these could not be ascribed to Lacapenos' hand, and that, therefore, the Lacapenian text appeared to be based upon a version different from the one that has come down to us in the Laurentianus. We know from Photius (cod. LXXVII) that there were two versions of Eunapius' ἱστορίαι current in ancient times; considering this fact, Lundström maintained that a double version of the βίοι must have existed as well, and, in particular, that of the second version—otherwise unknown to us—a relic must be recognized in the Lacapenian text of the βίος Λιβανίου.

As Kroll rightly says[1] in his review of Lundström's *Prolegomena*, the data upon which Lundström's theory was based do not seem to be convincing: in fact, apart from such slight discrepancies as the presence or the absence of the ν ἐφελκυστικόν, "dass Lakapenos an der Libaniosvita, als er sie herübernahm, einige Abänderungen vornahm, z.B. einen nicht ganz leicht verständlichen Vergleich strich, ein Selbstzitat der historischen Schrift unterdrückte und den Julianos statt θειότατος lieber βασιλεύς nannte, hat doch nichts Auffälliges". Kroll is undoubtedly right: all the peculiarities of this kind that are to be noticed in the Lacapenian version can easily be ascribed to the grammarian's hand, without assuming that he had a different version before him.

There is, however, one point which is not clear, namely, the words (496, 49 f.) τούτῳ δὲ ὁ ταῦτα γράφων οὐ συνεγένετο. ἄλλοτε ἄλλων ἐμποδισμάτων ἐπηρείᾳ τύχης συμβάντων which, although extant at the end of the Lacapenian version, are not found to be in the text of the Laurentianus. Lundström saw in these words the proof of the Lacapenian version being independent of the tradition represented by the Laurentianus. Kroll, however, seemed to be rather puzzled by this problem: "Wie es mit den Schlussworten steht: τούτῳ δὲ ὁ ταῦτα γράφων οὐ συνεγένετο. ἄλλοτε ἄλλων ἐμποδισμάτων ἐπηρείᾳ τύχης συμβάντων, die Lakapenos hat, während sie im Laurentianus

[1] BphW 1898, 932 ff.

fehlen, vermag ich freilich nicht zu sagen; aber wo dringen wir denn in alle Geheimnisse der Ueberlieferung?"

In contrast with Lundström, Vollebregt denies the existence of two versions of the Vitae by the hand of Eunapius himself, and, in particular, maintains that the Vita Libanii prefixed by the rhetor's Epistles was retouched from Eunapius' original text by Lacapenos or, in any case, by some unknown grammarian. Still, according to Vollebregt, the Lacapenian Vita is of great importance: he agrees with Lundström that the presence of the words *τούτῳ δὲ κτλ* is a clear proof that the manuscript upon which the grammarian based his text was independent of the Laurentianus which, as we have already observed, does not contain them.[1] But how does the matter really stand, as regards the words in question? Both Lundström and Vollebregt, quoting such passages from Eunapius' Vitae as 491, 13 ff. *οὐκ ἔγνω τοῦτον ὁ συγγραφεὺς, πλὴν ὅσα γε διὰ συγγραμμάτων*; 494, 3 f.: *τοῦτον ὁ ταῦτα γράφων, οὐκ ἔγνω, πολὺ προαπελθόντα τῆς ἐπιδημίας*, 494, 11 *τοῦτον ἐγίγνωσκεν ὁ συγγραφεύς, καὶ κτλ*, etc., content themselves with stating that the passage which we are now examining can be ascribed to nobody but Eunapius himself.

A detailed investigation of the sentence, both in itself and taken in its context, seems to be called for in order to solve the problem.

First of all, every unprejudiced reader will not fail to note that the words in question stand in a certain contrast to the rest of the Vita. Eunapius' attitude towards Libanius is rather spiteful; to use Mrs. W. C. Wright's words, he is inclined to disparage Libanius, ignores his triumphal appointment to the Constantinople chair by imperial edict, gives no account of the numerous works of Libanius, with which he must have been familiar, and criticizes the sophist's style so wrongly that, as Mrs. Wright observed, "this makes us hesitate to accept the judgements of Eunapius on sophists whose writings do not survive". Libanius' life was written by Eunapius "nicht ohne Uebelwollen", to quote Förster's words (*RE*, s.v. Libanios,

[1] Vollebregt follows here Förster's opinion: cf. *Libanii opera*, i. 2 f. Cf. W. R. Chalmers, in *Class. Quart.*, 1953, pp. 167 f.

2486). Further evidence for Eunapius' real attitude towards Libanius is to be found, for instance, in the passage where, speaking of the sophist being compelled to leave Constantinople, the biographer "drückt sich zweideutig aus" (Förster, 2489): *διαβολῆς δέ τινος αὐτῷ γενομένης περὶ τὰ μειράκια, ἣν θεμιτὸν οὐκ ἦν ἐμοὶ γράφειν, ἐς μνήμην ἀξιολόγων ἀνέντι τὴν γραφήν, ἐκπεσὼν τῆς Κωνσταντίνου πόλεως κατέσχε τὴν Νικομήδειαν, κακεῖθεν τῆς φήμης ἐπισπομένης καὶ παραθεούσης αὐτῷ κτλ*: in fact, it is not clear whether or not Eunapius believes in the scandalous *διαβολή*, but in any case he does not miss the opportunity of mentioning it, without too much reticence, yet with obvious relish.[1] In the life of Acacius, Eunapius gives an untrue report concerning the rivalry existing between that sophist and Libanius: he says that Acacius overthrew his rival's supremacy, and that the latter admitted his own defeat, ascribing it to Acacius' unquestionable superiority: but we know that it was Libanius who triumphed over his rival, who left Antioch about 361. Nor does Eunapius fail to report that Libanius had a mistress, adding that her social position was inferior to that of the sophist.

To put it shortly, Eunapius shows no sympathy[2] towards Libanius: therefore such a statement as *ἐπηρεία τύχης*—which would otherwise have been perfectly adequate—seems to be out of place.[3]—The whole sentence gives the impression of having been added by someone who could not understand why Eunapius omitted to mention whether or not he had known the most famous sophist of his time. It is a fact that Eunapius often tells his readers whether he knew the single sophists—and other people as well—whose lives are dealt with in his work: we are told that he knew Maximus (473, 16 ff.), Hilarius the painter

[1] It is worth while noting that there is no other evidence for the charge in question.

[2] The only point at which Eunapius shows any sympathy towards the sophist (but not without failing to call him *δόξης ἐλάττων ἀνήρ*) is where he mentions the latter's refusal of an important political appointment (496, 40 ff.); this is due to the fact that Libanius maintained *τὸν σοφιστὴν εἶναι μείζονα* than any other title: we know that Eunapius himself "regarded the title of sophist as the most honourable possible" (Wright, Loeb edn., p. 320).

[3] Cf. Bauer, *Wörterb. z.N.T.*, s.v. *ἐπήρεια*.

(482, 26), Sopolis (494, 24 f.), Diophantus (494, 11 f.). On the other hand, Eunapius tells us that he did not know Epiphanius because the sophist died long before his stay in Athens. It is certainly astonishing to learn that Eunapius did not make the " persönliche Bekanntschaft der grossen Epideiktiker des Ostens, Himerios und Libanios " (Schmid, *RE*, s.v. Eunapius, 1122). As to the former, Eunapius simply says that (494, 35 ff.) *οὐκ ἔγνω δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ ταῦτα γράφων · καί τοί γε ἦν κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους* and gets rid of the sophist with a few hasty lines. Mentioning Himerius at another point, Eunapius speaks of him as *Ἱμέριός τις σοφιστής* (491, 14): in other words, Eunapius almost ignores him as a man and as a teacher. Such a negative attitude can easily be understood if we consider that Himerius was one of the two greatest rivals of Eunapius' teacher, Prohaeresius (the other one being Libanius[1]); that is why Eunapius—whose loyalty to Prohaeresius was absolute—did not feel any personal interest or sympathy towards Himerius, yet did not wish to have anything to do with his teacher's rival, which we may—and perhaps are meant to—infer from the hint *καί τοί γε ἦν κτλ*, and which appears quite natural in consideration not only of Eunapius' character,[2] but also of the fierce spirit of rivalry existing in his times between the various teachers, each of whom exerted his control and influence over his pupils [3] to the absolute exclusion of his colleagues.

What we have noted regarding Himerius holds true for the other great rival of Prohaeresius,[4] Libanius.[5] In fact, it is well

[1] On the rivalry between Prohaeresius and Himerius see Schenkl, *RE*, s.v. Himerios, 1623 ff.

[2] On Eunapius' attitude towards his teachers (first of all Prohaeresius, but also Chrysanthius) see Thomas, *Bull. Acad. Roy. Belg., cl. des lettres*, 1921, pp. 529 ff.

[3] In Mrs. Wright's opinion (Loeb edn. of Eunapius' *Vitae*, p. 333) Eunapius' attitude towards Himerius was due to professional jealousy: this may well be true, but only in part: Eunapius was about thirty years younger than Himerius.

[4] That Eunapius wrote the lives of Libanius and Himerius in a superficial and hasty way did not escape Mrs. Wright's attention (Loeb edn., p. 320). Cf. also F. A. Wright, *Hist. Later Greek Literature*, p. 368.

[5] On the " Gegnerschaft " existing, on the other hand, between Libanius and Himerius see Förster-Münscher, *RE*, s.v. Libanios, 2534.

known that Libanius had replaced Prohaeresius in the heart of the Emperor Julian:[1] it was Libanius that the emperor expected to write the history of his deeds, after the deterioration of relations between himself and Prohaeresius.[2] A clear echo of the rivalry existing between Prohaeresius and Libanius is to be found in Eun. fragm. 76 Boiss.

ὁ δὲ Ἰουλιανὸς ὁ παραβάτης . . . τὸν τῆς Ἀντιοχείας σοφιστὴν, ᾧ Λιβάνιος ὄνομα, διαφερόντως ἐθαύμασεν, τὰ μὲν ἴσως ἐπαινῶν, τὰ δὲ ὅπως λυποίη τὸν μέγαν σοφιστὴν Προαιρέσιον, προτιμῶν ἕτερον.

No wonder, therefore, that Eunapius purposely omitted any reference as to whether he had known Libanius personally or not. He did not think it necessary to state whether or not he had met the sophist: also in this respect he did not deflect from the reservedness and coolness with which he treats him. He simply ignores this detail (as he does with others—of still greater importance—regarding Libanius). But, even if Eunapius had wanted to make such a statement, he would certainly not have used the expressions contained in the sentence which we have been examining. It is just this need to justify the fact, in a vague and imprecise way which raises our suspicion, that betrays the author of the sentence. Eunapius himself would have plainly stated—as he did with Himerius—that he did not make the acquaintance of Libanius. The alleged reasons for Eunapius not making the acquaintance of Libanius are, as we have just observed, suspiciously vague: we cannot help feeling that they were added by someone wishing to eliminate

[1] On Julian's relations to Prohaeresius and Libanius, see Christ-Schmid-Stählin, *Gesch. griech. Liter.*, II[6], 2, pp. 986 and 1023. There is no sure evidence, however, for Prohaeresius being invited to court by Julianus, as Bidez maintains (*L'Empéreur Julien, Œuvres complètes*, tome I, 2ième partie, p. 106).

[2] This deterioration is certainly to be ascribed to Julian's attitude towards the Christians. Mrs. Wright (op. cit. p. 330) says that "there was a certain coolness between the Emperor Julian and Prohaeresius, apart from the incident of the exemption, for the sophist resented the Emperor's admiration of Libanius". No doubt, however, that the main reason for the cooling of Prohaeresius' attitude towards the Emperor was caused by the latter's anti-Christian policy. The fact that Julianus exempted Prohaeresius alone from the prohibition to teach proves how greatly the emperor esteemed the sophist, but Prohaeresius could not approve of Julianus' actions against his religion.

—by a somewhat autoschediastic remedy—what seemed to him an inexplicable omission. Libanius was contemporary with Eunapius, and it was difficult to understand why the latter had omitted any indication as to whether or not he had known the greatest sophist of his own times.

To sum up, the words in question seem to be, in all probability, an addition to Eunapius' text. There is also another fact pointing to the same conclusion: as Vollebregt rightly noted, Eunapius, when using *οὗτος* at the beginning of a sentence, never attaches *δέ* to the pronoun; he is quite consistent in this matter of style, as the passages quoted by Vollebregt (*Symb.* p. 12) have easily proved. Vollebregt himself is right in denouncing *δέ* as contrasting with Eunapius' usage: but he is wrong in simply deleting it, without trying to explain its presence in the text, or to draw any conclusion from it. Both elements, therefore, pertaining to contents and usage, point to the sentence in question being not due to Eunapius' hand.[1] By whom was it written? If we consider how Lacapenus proceeded in altering Eunapius' text—which can clearly be seen from Vollebregt's examination of the two versions (*Symbola*, pp. 14 ff.)—the reply is obvious. He handled the Vita very freely, altering or deleting single words, groups of words and whole sentences: therefore we do not see why he should not have attached to the Epilogue by Eunapius the short addition—very cautious and vague, but, at the same time, apt to obviate Eunapius' silence, which seemed inexplicable to him, an admirer of Libanius. Of course, noticing the fact that Eunapius never mentions his meeting Libanius, Lacapenus preferred to justify this silence by a negative—otherwise extremely elusive—statement, instead of merely adding that the two men had known each other. The part of

[1] Having already noted that the presence of *δέ* betrays a hand other than that of Eunapius, and that the elusiveness of the statement *ἄλλοτε ἄλλων κτλ.* leads us to the same conclusion, what remains to be examined, in the sentence in question, are the words *ὁ ταῦτα γράφων κτλ.* As we have already seen, it is a formula that Eunapius uses at every step, when alluding to himself: this fact convinced Lundström and other critics that the sentence must be by the hand of Eunapius, but the reverse is not less valid: such a constant feature could hardly escape the attention of any reader, let alone Lacapenos', who used it as a kind of *σφραγίς* for his insertion.

the Vita to which this addition could most easily be attached was obviously the epilogue: Eunapius had ended the Vita Libanii with a hint at his death, as he often does.

From what we have been noting so far we may conclude that Lacapenos' text does not stand in isolation, representing a tradition independent of the Laurentianus and otherwise unknown to us, but, being descended from the common archetypus, is of no value as far as recensio is concerned.

By way of an appendix, a few lines on one or other variants contained in the Lacapenian version. When Lacapenos' text is right, in contrast to that of the Laurentianus, Vollebregt ascribes the right readings (which are listed on p. 46 of *Symbola*) partly to Lacapenos' hand, and partly to the Vorlage that he had before him.

As Kroll noted (loc. cit.), it is not difficult to see that all the right readings in question can be considered to have been restored by Lacapenos' conjectures; this is the case in 495, 15 f.: *πρὸς τὸν ἀρχαῖον ἐξεβιάζετο τύπον* [*ἐξεβιβάζετο*. Laur. The reading *ἐξεβιάζετο* was restored by Lacapenos and, independently, by Coray and by Wyttenbach: it is an obvious correction. In 496, 18 f.: *οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀττικοὶ μυκτῆρα καὶ ἀστεϊσμὸν αὐτὸ καλοῦσιν*] *ἀ*[*λισμόν*. Laur. Lacapenos' restoration is obvious: such words as *μυκτήρ* and *ἀστεϊσμός* were well known to the grammarian that he was. Another successful restoration by Lacapenos is *οὕτως* for *οὗτος* (496, 28): cf. Vollebregt, p. 42 f., and Förster, *Libanii Opera*, I, p. 3. A convincing integration by Lacapenos is in 495, 49 f.: *καὶ τοσοῦτος ἦν ἐς τὴν πλάσιν . . . ὥστε ὁ μὲν ‹πολύπους› λῆρος ἠλέγχετο*. It is evident that, after *ὁ μέν*, a word was missing —which is confirmed, for us, by the fact that after *μέν* the scribe of the archetypus began a fresh line (in such cases he often omits words, as was shown by Vollebregt): Lacapenos added *πολύπους*, the animal whose ability to imitate and adapt itself was proverbial amongst the Greeks. Other integrations by Lacapenos reflect the grammarian's tendency to standardize the text: such additions as 495, 1 f. *Ἀντιόχεια . . . τῆς . . . Συρίας πρώτη ‹τῶν› πόλεων* and 495, 8 ff. *ἐν τῷ πλήθει τῶν ὁμιλητῶν καὶ ‹τῷ› μεγέθει τῆς δόξης* are supported by the fact

that Eunapius' usage confirms them; as for ‹τὰ› εἰκότα in 495, 21 ff. Λιβάνιος . . . προσαρτῶν ἑαυτὸν . . . ἡγεμόσιν ἀρίστοις . . . ἀπήλαυσε τῆς ὁδοῦ τὰ εἰκότα the fact that the scribe began a fresh line after ὁδοῦ does not fully confirm the legitimacy of Lacapenos' integration: Eunapius is not unlikely to have used the less emphatic form τῆς ὁδοῦ εἰκότα, meaning that (I quote Vollebregt's translation) "Libanius carpsit ex hac via tales fructus, quales rationi consentaneum erat expectari", and not that he "carpsit ex hac via eos fructus, quos rationi consentaneum erat expectari".

And now two alterations of the text by Lacapenos, which are accepted by Vollebregt (he believes that the grammarian drew them from his Vorlage) but which are, in reality, not convincing:

496, 13 ff. καὶ χάριτός γε αὐτῷ καὶ κωμικῆς βωμολοχίας καταπέπλησται τὰ συγγράμματα, κτλ.

Lacapenos changed καταπέπλησται to ἀναπέπλησται because he took the sentence καὶ χάριτος κτλ. to be a negative criticism of Eunapius' style: it is, therefore, an arbitrary alteration. 496, 20 ff.: ὁ δὲ ὥσπερ κορυφὴν παιδείας τοῦτο ἐπετήδευσεν, ἐκ τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας ὅλος εἰς τὸ ἀπαγγέλλειν εἰλκυσμένος καὶ τοῦ κατὰ θύραν τερπνοῦ καὶ γοητεύοντος τὴν ἀκοὴν γενόμενος] γινόμενος. Laur.

Lacapenos' correction of γινόμενος to γενόμενος has been accepted by all the critics, Vollebregt included. The latter observes a.l.: "contextus aoristi participium postulat, quod recensio Lacapeniana praebet". In reality, γινόμενος is a form typical of Eunapius' language (cf. Vollebregt, p. 39), and we should not be so hasty to correct it: in the context in question it can easily be recognized to be a partic. praes. de conatu.[1] Eunapius, in fact, implies that Libanius did not always succeed in attaining the effects of style at which he was aiming.

[1] As Stahl rightly observes, "am ausgedehntesten findet sich der Gebrauch de conatu beim Participium des Präsens" (*Krit.-Hist. Synt.*, p. 149).

JOHN THE BAPTIST[1]

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SOME two years ago the study of the life and work of John the Baptist in the English-speaking world was given a new impetus by the publication of Professor Carl Kraeling's Haskell Lectures.[2] His admirably clear presentation and careful discussion of the available evidence shed new light on old problems; and even when we are not able to accept his conclusions, they open up new and fruitful lines of enquiry. In this lecture I propose to look again at some of the main questions about John in the light of Kraeling's work, and to make one or two suggestions arising out of a reconsideration of the evidence.

It is common knowledge that our direct information about John comes from two sources, the New Testament and the *Antiquities* of Josephus. He is not mentioned in the Rabbinical literature. The New Testament evidence is confined to the four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. We may begin with Acts, where John is mentioned nine times.[3] Three of these (x. 37; xiii. 24, 25) occur in passages which have been shown by Dodd[4] to embody the primitive Christian kerygma. In Acts x. 34-43 we have the report of what Peter said to Cornelius and his household. This report is given in Greek so strange and difficult that it may well be a translation of a Semitic original; and in that case we should perhaps regard it as a very early form of the kerygma. In this passage the Galilean ministry of Jesus is described as beginning "after the baptism which John preached". In Acts xiii. 17-41 we have a report of an address,

[1] A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on Wednesday, the 11th of November 1953.

[2] *John the Baptist* by Carl H. Kraeling, 1951. The chapter on "The Messianic Herald" in my book *The Servant-Messiah* had been completed and was in the hands of the printers before I had an opportunity to study Professor Kraeling's work.

[3] Acts i. 5, 22; x. 37; xi. 16; xiii. 24 f.; xviii. 25; xix. 3f.

[4] C. H. Dodd, *The Apostolic Preaching and its Developments* (1936), pp. 53-61.

given by Paul in the synagogue at Antioch in Pisidia, in the course of which he refers to John in relation to Jesus and says that God brought Jesus as a saviour to Israel, " when John had already preached before his coming a baptism of repentance to all the people of Israel ". Paul continues, " And as John was coming to the end of his career, he said, ' Regarding what you suspect that I am, I am not he. But behold he is coming after me, and I am not worthy to unfasten the shoes of his feet '."

If we may take these two passages as part of the primitive preaching we can conclude that at a very early date the Palestinian community had come to regard the activities of John as a prelude to the ministry of Jesus, and that they believed that John himself had held that he was not the Messiah but only the forerunner.

Of the remaining references in Acts the first (i. 5), a word of the Risen Lord, contrasts John's baptism in water with the spirit-baptism which the disciples are shortly to experience. The second (i. 22) occurs in the description of the qualifications necessary for an apostle to take the place of Judas Iscariot: he must have been associated with the Twelve throughout the ministry " beginning from the baptism of John ".[1] Here again the work of John is a prelude to that of Jesus. A third passage (xi. 16) is a reference back to i. 5. Finally we have, in xviii. 25 and xix. 3 f., evidence that there were disciples, of whom Apollos was one, who had received John's baptism and no other.[2] In the case of Apollos we are told that Aquila and Priscilla gave him more precise exposition of the Way, but not that he was given a second baptism. The Ephesian disciples underwent a second baptism " in the name of the Lord Jesus ", after which Paul laid hands on them, the Holy Spirit came upon them, and they spoke with tongues and prophesied. It may be freely granted that there are many points in these two stories, on which we should be glad to have further information. It must also be admitted that they lack the somewhat monotonous uniformity of doctrine

[1] The text leaves it open whether it is " John's baptism of Jesus " or simply " the time when John was baptizing ". For our present purpose it is not necessary to settle the question.

[2] For a discussion of the problems raised by these two passages see Lake and Cadbury in *Beginnings of Christianity*, iv. 231 f.

and practice which so often characterizes the apocryphal Acts. It seems to me that we must choose one of two alternative explanations of the data. The information is scanty and the procedure not entirely uniform because the author of Acts was writing long after the events and doing his best with inadequate materials ; or the materials themselves reflect a transition period, when there were still people about who had responded to the challenge of John and had subsequently heard and accepted the teaching of Jesus. The fact may well be that at this time there was no fixed rule about rebaptism of such disciples.[1]

However that may be, the evidence of Acts permits us to draw certain conclusions regarding the place of John and his ministry in the minds of the first generation of Christians. First, John's preaching and baptism are the prelude and starting point for the work of Jesus. Second, John himself pointed forward to another person with another baptism that should supersede him and his baptism. The primitive Church held that that person was Jesus and that the baptism in question had come in the experience of Pentecost and other subsequent manifestations of the operation of the Spirit. Third, there does not appear to be uniformity of practice (or theory) regarding the position of John's converts in the Christian community. It may be that the Christian community did not normally trouble itself about the matter, but accepted such people on their merits. I am disposed to think that these few data from Acts may well represent the earliest stratum of the ecclesiastical tradition about John.

[1] I very much doubt whether the Ephesian disciples can be called as evidence for the existence of a Johannite sect in the province of Asia. The fact that they are called " disciples " (*μαθηταί*) seems to show that they were regarded, or regarded themselves, as Christians. I should surmise that they were Jews who had accepted John's baptism from John and later had been hearers of Jesus. Later they had moved from Palestine to Asia. Apollos had undergone John's baptism, possibly at John's hands, and later had come to know a great deal about Jesus, possibly by direct acquaintance, more probably by report. However he gained his knowledge, he had made it part of his religion. Perhaps at this stage in his career he would have called himself a disciple of John and Jesus ; and it may be that what Aquila and Priscilla were concerned to make clear to him was that the greater included the less. In these matters we are largely left to conjecture. See further my article on " The Problem of the Epistle to the Hebrews ", *B.J.R.L.* xxxii (1949), 13-16.

We have now to consider it in the light of other available evidence in the Gospels and in Josephus.

Regarding the first point the Gospel tradition is of one mind and voice regarding the temporal priority of John to Jesus. It may well be that, as the Fourth Gospel suggests, these was a period during which the work of John and that of Jesus overlapped in the south; but the opening of the Galilean ministry, with its solemn proclamation of the arrival of the Kingdom of God (Mark i. 14 f.), is placed after the arrest of John.

The priority of John's mission raised a problem, of which we find traces in the Fourth Gospel and more particularly in the Pseudo-Clementine literature. It arises from the idea that the older is better. In the Clementine books arguments are brought to show that in the religious sphere the contrary is the case. In the Gospel John himself testifies that "he who comes after me has taken precedence of me, because he *was* before me" (John i. 15). That is, the Gospel asserts the absolute priority of the Incarnate Logos: it maintains the principle but does not allow this particular application. The Clementines, on the other hand, question the principle.[1] It may be surmised that these explanations would not have been necessary unless the ministry of John had in fact preceded that of Jesus.

But the relation is more than one of mere before and after. John's mission was the starting-point of the public work of Jesus; and there was a real continuity between the two ministries. This continuity was expected by John himself. His preaching looks forward to the coming of the Stronger One for whom he acts as herald. The Coming One will carry out the judgement which John threatens. He too will baptize; but his baptism will be of a more drastic nature than John's. At a later stage we are given the story of how John, already in prison, sent to ask Jesus if he was in fact the Coming One,[2] a question which implies

[1] See Oscar Cullmann, *Le Problème littéraire et historique du Roman pseudo-Clémentin* (1930), pp. 234-42; *Coniectanea Neotestamentica* XI (Fridrichsen Festschrift, 1947), pp. 26-32; H. J. Schoeps, *Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums* (1949), pp. 163 f.; J. Thomas, *Le Mouvement baptiste*, pp. 107, 123-6.

[2] Matt. xi. 2-6 || Luke vii. 18-23 (Q).

that John had at the very least entertained the possibility that the answer might be "Yes".

Moreover the continuity was recognized by detached observers who were not moved by the preaching of either John or Jesus. Herod Antipas on learning of the activities of Jesus accepted a widely held view that he was John the Baptist risen from the dead.[1] That this opinion was held by many appears from the conversation between Jesus and his disciples which culminates in Peter's confession. There the first answer to the question, "Who do men say that I am?" is "John the Baptist". There is a problem here: how could people suppose that Jesus was John the Baptist risen from the dead, if their ministries had overlapped to any great extent, so that they were simultaneously in the public eye? The matter has been discussed by Professor E. F. Sutcliffe[2] who argues that Herod Antipas had not heard of Jesus during the lifetime of John; otherwise the question could never have arisen whether he was or was not John arisen from the dead. We may also take into account that the ministry of John was largely confined to Peraea and Samaria;[3] that there is no record that he ever set foot in Galilee; and that the people who flocked to hear him are described as coming from Judaea, Jerusalem, and the plain of Jordan.[4] The ministry of Jesus, on the other hand, had been begun and continued in Galilee up to the time when it attracted the notice of Antipas. It seems not impossible that the Galilean opinion, which toyed with the idea that Jesus was John risen from the dead, may have been based on the fact that reports of the disappearance of John from the scene of his activities in the south were followed by the appearance of Jesus in Galilee. This, in its turn, would suggest that the

[1] Mark vi, 14-16. In verse 14 I follow BD (ελεγοσαν) W 6 271 *abdff*^{2}*vg* (2MSS) Aug. in reading ἔλεγον, "people were saying".

[2] *A Two Year Public Ministry* (1938), pp. 137-42.

[3] The Fourth Gospel locates his baptizing places at Bethany in Peraea (i. 28) and Aenon near Salim, where there was a good supply of water (iii. 23). The location of Aenon and Salim is disputed. The traditional site, about 7½ miles south of Beisan, is described by Abel (*Géographie de la Palestine* (1933), i. 142, 447). Recently Albright has urged the claims of another Salim and 'Ainun in the vicinity of Nablus (*The Archaeology of Palestine* (1949), p. 247). Both sites are in what was Samaria in New Testament times.

[4] Mark i. 5; Matt. iii. 5.

interval between the arrest of John and his execution, i.e. the period covered by Mark i. 14 to some point before vi. 14, was comparatively short.

The continuity between the two ministries was also recognized by Jesus himself, though the utterances in which he links his work with that of John indicate that he was conscious of profound and far-reaching differences in the tasks which they had to fulfil and the manner of the fulfilment. The matter is stated simply and sharply in the Fourth Gospel. John was "a burning and shining lamp" (*λύχνος*); and he gave a light which people were glad to have. But he was not *the* light, the light of the world that illuminates every one who comes into the world.[1] In the synoptic tradition we find actions and statements which seem to say something of the same kind, though in a less direct and obvious way. First, and in many ways most important, is the fact that Jesus accepted John's baptism. That he did so was soon a difficulty, as appears from Matt. iii. 14 f. What did Jesus want with a baptism based on repentance and leading to forgiveness of sins? The answer given in Matthew is that it is proper to fulfil all rightousness, a saying which is best understood as the clear recognition by Jesus that the will of God for that generation was embodied in John's call to Israel, and that his own work must begin in an act of obedience to God's command through John.

Again when John sends from prison to ask whether Jesus is the Coming One, the answer returned is "Yes and no". Jesus is the fulfilment of what John proclaimed, though not in the way that John expected. John is a prophet and more than a prophet. He is himself the fulfilment of prophecies, those prophecies which speak of a messenger sent in advance to prepare the way for another. That is continuity; but it is continuity which does not exclude vast differences: John is the greatest man that ever lived; but the least in the Kingdom of God is greater than he. The critical and unresponsive among their contemporaries cannot understand either John or Jesus: to them the one is a deluded fanatic, the other a self-indulgent teacher of doubtful orthodoxy. They cannot grasp the essential

[1] John v. 35; ct. i. 8; viii. 12; ix. 5.

kinship of the two in their complete devotion to God the King; nor can they see the difference between them, the difference between solemn warnings of the Kingdom approaching as judgement and the good news of the Kingdom arrived as mercy.[1] It is in the light of this Q passage that we should most probably try to interpret the obscure paragraph in Mark ix. 11-13. The detailed exegesis of these verses is undoubtedly difficult; but in general it is clear that Jesus asserts a real continuity of his own ministry with that of John. Again when the authority of Jesus is challenged by the members of the Sanhedrin, he immediately takes his stand beside John and insists that if they knew how to form a true estimate of John and his work, they would know how to do the same for him.[2]

That saying is as true for students of the New Testament today as it was for the contemporaries of John and Jesus. If we have really come to terms with John, we are ready to see how far Jesus went along with him and how far he goes beyond the farthest point that John could reach.

It seems to me that an adequate understanding of John and his life-work is to be gained if, and only if, we can come to a true understanding of the nature and purpose of his baptism. In order to do this it is necessary to clear our minds of all ideas derived from doctrines regarding the Christian sacrament and to consider John's rite in its own proper Jewish context. And it should be added that here the word Jewish should be understood in a strict and even narrow sense. All that we know about John goes to show that he was entirely unsympathetic to foreign influences and tendencies. His choice of food and clothing and dwelling-place was a standing visible protest against the moral and spiritual deterioration which he, like many before him in Israel, felt to be the inevitable accompaniment of alien culture and civilization.[3] It is therefore *a priori* unlikely that John derived his baptism or the ideas connected with it from

[1] Matt. xi. 2-11 || Luke vii. 18-28 (Q); Matt. xi. 16-19 || Luke vii. 31-35 (Q).

[2] Mark xi. 27-33.

[3] See the full and illuminating discussion by Kraeling in Chapter I of his book. Cf. A. Schlatter, *Der Evangelist Matthäus* (1929), p. 62; M. Dibelius, *Jesus* (1939), p. 45.

non-Jewish sources. And there is no need to look so far. The practice of bathing to remove ceremonial impurity, which disqualified people from taking a full part in the religious life of the community, had been for centuries firmly established in Israel. Shortly before John's ministry began it had received a new development and a special application when a baptism by total immersion was introduced into the ritual for the reception of converts from paganism to Judaism.[1] The purpose of the complex series of ceremonies was something more than to register a change of belief and the adoption of a new moral code by the convert. He was not only converted to the Jewish religion; he was also, and at the same time, naturalized into the people of God. Within this ritual the proselyte's baptism washed away the whole defilement of his heathen past; and in the nature of the case it was not thought of as needing to be repeated, since the only occasion for repeating it would be the subsequent apostasy of the convert and his relapse into his former heathenism. The convert would have to take many ritual baths after his conversion, whenever he came into contact with objects that conveyed ceremonial impurity; but the proselyte's bath would not be taken a second time.

It is not unreasonable to suppose that John's invitation to people, who were already Jews by birth and religion, to undergo a rite devised for the reception of converts from heathenism was meant to cast some doubt upon their status as Israelites. This supposition is confirmed when we look at the terms in which John addresses his fellow-countrymen. "Produce fruits worthy of repentance and don't begin to think, 'We have our father Abraham'; for I assure you that God can raise up sons for Abraham from these stones." The implication is that the criterion for determining whether or not anyone is a member of the People of God is a moral and spiritual one which John calls "repentance" which, in the Hebrew and Jewish way of thinking,

[1] I agree with Kraeling (op. cit. p. 100) that it is clear "that the ablutions commonly called 'proselyte baptism' were actually in use at a date sufficiently early to have served as such a prototype [i.e. of John's baptism] if the Baptist really saw fit to use them in this way". For the evidence see Strack-Billerbeck, i. 102-13, and for some of the more recent discussions, Kraeling, op. cit. p. 202, n. 5.

means a turning of the whole man to God with regret for past misdeeds and a firm resolve to give full obedience to God's will in future. "Fruits worthy of repentance" are actions which show this new obedience, actions that spring from hearts on which the law of God is written. Descent from Abraham cannot be a substitute for this creative obedience; and those who are tempted to think that their citizenship in God's people is secured on a hereditary basis should reflect that the Almighty is not limited by the laws of hereditary succession. He can produce new heirs for Abraham, if need be; and, it is implied, if need be he will reject any or all of those who now claim that status.

In saying such things as these John is repeating in concentrated form the essential teaching of the prophets on the subject of the judgement, repentance, and restoration of Israel. His message is addressed to Israel as a whole; and it is not without significance that his exhortations are couched in the second person plural. The axe lies at the root of the trees (plural): it is the forest that is to be dealt with. The entire contents of the threshing-floor will be winnowed and the grain separated from the chaff. What is involved is the isolation of the true Israel, the people of the saints of the Most High, the Remnant, from the rest of the nation. John's challenge is to individuals within Israel: they are invited to become members of the Israel within Israel by way of repentance and obedience, and to make their resolve an actuality by being baptized.

What is the alternative? Here we come upon a very difficult exegetical problem. It concerns the original form of the prophecy about the Coming One, the correct interpretation of the prediction, and the question to whom it applies. The statement is given in Mark i. 7 f. as the essential content of John's proclamation (ἐκήρυσσεν). It runs as follows:

(*a*) "There comes after me One stronger than I:
(*b*) The strap of his sandals I am not fit to stoop and undo.
(*c*) I have baptized you in water:
(*d*) He will baptize you in holy Spirit."

In Matthew (iii. 11) and Luke (iii. 16) we have parallel versions of the saying which differ from Mark on a few minor

points and agree in differing from him on two major ones: they both have clause (*c*) before (*a*) and they both add the words "and fire" after "holy Spirit". It is possible that these agreements against Mark indicate the use of Q at this point by the other evangelists. It should be added that the Sinaitic Syriac in Matthew and Luke has "fire and holy spirit" instead of "holy spirit and fire" and that this order is found in certain Syrian patristic texts.[1] It may well be that the Q form of the saying mentions "fire" alone, and that what is now given by Matthew and Luke is a conflation of Mark and Q. In that case we have to ask whether "fire" or "holy Spirit" is what John said. In favour of the view that it was fire alone we may adduce the fact that the Coming One is represented in the context as working with fire and not with holy Spirit. He cuts down fruitless trees and casts them into the fire. He separates wheat and chaff and burns the latter with unquenchable fire. His coming is described as "the impending wrath". All these points come from undoubted Q passages in Matthew and Luke, where the amount of verbal agreement is exceptionally high; and they strongly reinforce the supposition that in Q the baptism to be given by the Coming One was to be a baptism of fire.

How then did the "fire" of Q become the "holy Spirit" of Mark? The probable answer to that question is to be sought in the second chapter of Acts in the events of Pentecost. But there the event is explained as an act of God with appeal to the prophet Joel. John, however, does not, I think, mean God when he speaks of the Coming One, but the Messiah of Jewish expectation. It is the Messiah who will baptize with fire, the fire of a judgement, which will begin not with the alien enemies of Israel but at the house of God.

If we take the saying in this way, it is like all the other sayings, addressed to Israel as a whole. John has offered his baptism of water to the people as a token of repentance, obedience, and incorporation into the people of the saints of the Most High. If Israel will not accept this baptism they will have to reckon with a Stronger One who will come with his own baptism, a baptism of fire, the manifestation of the wrath of God.

[1] Details in C. M. Edsman, *Le Baptême de Feu* (1940), pp. 150-7.

This interpretation is borne out by John's question from prison and Jesus' reply. The most natural explanation of the question is that it was provoked by the sharp contrast between the picture drawn by John in his messianic preaching and the actuality presented in the ministry of Jesus. The fires of judgement are unkindled. Jesus answers by reaffirming his own way of ministry and gently deprecating John's disappointment at the non-realization of his own expectations. There were other points of difference. John was an ascetic:[1] Jesus was not. John withdrew from "civilization" with all its evils: Jesus carried on his ministry within the context of the ordinary life of the towns and villages of Galilee and Judaea. John let the people come to him: Jesus went to the people. John's preaching was essentially of God's demands backed by terrifying sanctions: Jesus offered a gift from God, whose present reality was demonstrated in his own acts of power and goodness.

John's question came from prison. How came he to be there? It is at this point that the information supplied by Josephus[2] must be carefully weighed. According to him the imprisonment and execution of John were precautionary measures taken by Herod Antipas, who, like his father before him, was constantly on the alert where the security of his own person and authority was concerned. In the course of his account of John Josephus says:

> Now when men flocked to him—for they were highly elated at listening to his words—Herod feared that the powerful influence which he exercised over men's minds might lead to some form of revolt, for they seemed ready to

[1] Mark i. 6; Matt. xi. 7 f., 16-19; Luke vii. 24 ff., 31-5. For an interesting and suggestive discussion of these passages see Kraeling, op. cit. 7-16. He will not have it that John was a Nazirite in the strict sense of the word. Rather we are to think of him as one who saw part at least of the cure for the ills of society in the recovery of simplicity of life. In that case he would have something in common with Rechabite ideals (see J. Pedersen, *Israel*, III-IV, 522 f., 541 ff.; R. B. Y. Scott, *The Relevance of the Prophets*, p. 49 ff.). If there is little reason for making John a Nazirite, there is even less for making Jesus one. The fact that he was called φάγος καὶ οἰνοπότης is sufficient evidence that he did not practise the austerity and the teetotalism, which were an integral part of the Nazirite ideal.

[2] *Ant.* xviii. 5. 2 (§§ 116-19). I quote from Thackeray's translation in his *Josephus, the Man and the Historian* (1929), 131 f.

do anything on his advice. To forestall and kill him seemed far better than a belated repentance when plunged in the turmoil of an insurrection. And so, through Herod's suspicions, John was sent as a prisoner to the fortress of Machaerus and there put to death.

This part of Josephus' story tallies perfectly with what we are told of John's activities in the Synoptic Gospels. He proclaimed the imminent advent of the Messiah of Jewish expectation. That would mean inevitably the end of foreign overlordship in Israel, and, as a natural consequence, the end of the petty dynasty of the Herods. But John did more than announce the coming of the Messiah ; his baptism must be construed as the rite of initiation into the true Israel, that is, the Messianic community which was to enjoy the privileges of the good time that would come under the rule of the Messiah. From Herod's point of view this could only be construed as a treasonable activity ; and it was plain common sense to put a stop to further recruitment for the Messianic army by putting the chief recruiting agent out of action.

A further consideration, which could have weighed against John in Herod's judgement, was the fact that his following was drawn from the rank and file of the population, and included some of the least reputable elements, while the upper ranks of the community held aloof or were hostile to him.[1]

Herod was afraid that John's eloquent preaching of the coming Kingdom of God, and his enrolling of citizens for it from the least stable elements of the population, would result in an insurrection. His position as a native prince under the Empire required him to prevent insurrections. He did so. It is likely enough that he had not misjudged the political situation ; and that the revolt which he feared was brought nearer by John's preaching. Indeed, one of the major preoccupations of Jesus during the ministry is just to avoid being forced into the leadership of a campaign against the Roman Empire and its local representatives in Palestine.[2]

[1] Mark xi. 27-33 || Matt. xxi. 23-7 || Luke xx. 1-8 ; Luke vii. 29 f. ; Matt. xxi. 28-32 ; Luke iii. 12, 14.

[2] In this connection the saying in Matt. xi. 12 may be significant. I have discussed it along with its parallel, Luke xvi. 16, in my *Sayings of Jesus*, p. 133 ff.

So far there is substantial agreement between the Gospels and Josephus on the reasons why Antipas took action against John. The Gospels, however, add a further motive. It is stated very briefly by Luke (iii. 19 f.) who here seems to be independent of Mark. Mark gives a long and circumstantial story (vi. 17-29), which is reproduced in an abbreviated form by Matthew (xiv. 3-12). Here we learn that John had incurred the enmity of Antipas and his wife Herodias by declaring that their marriage was contrary to the Law, as indeed it was since Herodias was already married to a half-brother of Antipas.[1] That the marriage was adulterous was common knowledge: John's offence was that he said openly what was in the minds of all decent people. Naturally Herodias hated him: according to Mark[2] she "had it in for him and would have liked to kill him". Antipas, on the other hand, was somewhat in awe of John. He was fascinated by John's outspokenness, even when it was directed against himself; and he could not help admiring the integrity and devotion of the prophet. Political prudence would not allow him to let John go free; and superstitious fears restrained him from killing the holy man. So he kept him in custody and did nothing. It

There I took the view that *βιάζεται* is middle, and that the general sense of the verse is that the kingdom of Heaven is exercising its beneficent power, with men and women eagerly pressing forward to share in the good things it brings. While this still seems to me to be a tenable interpretation, I think that serious consideration must be given to another possibility. The early versions of the New Testament generally, and in particular the earliest—the Old Latin, Old Syriac, and the Sahidic—treat *βιάζεται* as a passive. The kingdom of Heaven "is forced", or "suffers violence" (O. L.), "is taken by violence" (Sah), "is oppressed" (O. S.). So far it is not clear whether the force is meant to delay or to expedite the coming of the kingdom. The balance is turned, I think, in favour of the latter alternative by the clause following. The violent men who snatch at it are those who see its coming as the best thing that can possibly happen and will go to all lengths to hasten it. With *βιασταὶ ἁρπάζουσιν αὐτήν* we may compare John vi. 15 "Jesus, knowing that they were going to come and take him by force (*ἁρπάζειν αὐτόν*) in order to make him king, went off again by himself into the hills".

[1] There is some uncertainty about the name of Herodias' first husband. According to Mark he was called Philip; but Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 5. 4 (§ 136)) calls him Herod. In F. M. Abel's *Histoire de la Palestine* (1952), i. 441, he is referred to as Julius Herodes. Herodias' marriage to Antipas, while his half-brother was still alive and had issue, was contrary to the rule laid down in Lev. xviii. 16; xx. 21.

[2] vi 19.

was difficult to know what to do. John's criticisms of his second marriage probably reflected public opinion; and it would be bad policy to outrage it further by laying violent hands on one whom the same public opinion regarded as a prophet. More than that, this marriage, which aroused criticism at home, also created difficulties abroad. His slighted first wife had fled to her father, Aretas IV king of Nabataea; and he, incensed at the bad treatment of his daughter, was meditating revenge. Jewish feeling might perhaps be placated if Antipas would give up his brother's wife; but this he was not prepared to do, for he was in love with Herodias. So the deadlock continued.

It was Herodias who found the means to break it. The story is familiar enough. At a state banquet to celebrate the birthday of Antipas, Salome the young daughter of Herodias, danced before the company, and so delighted her stepfather that he pledged his royal word to give her anything she cared to ask. Prompted by her mother she asked for the head of John. Antipas was annoyed, but he had committed himself too far to withdraw; and so John was beheaded. It is not necessary to suppose that Antipas felt any real regret at the death of John: more probably he was shrewd enough to understand that it was not possible to remove the stigma of adultery by adding to it the crime of murder.

There are those who find the story told by Mark hard to believe. B. S. Easton[1] asks, for example, "how can Herod's birthday banquet be transferred to the remote and gloomy fortress of Machaerus, where the Baptist was imprisoned?" The short answer is that even tetrarchs cannot always choose where they will spend their birthdays. The dance of Salome is declared to be repugnant to Graeco-Roman conceptions of propriety;[2] and Merx maintained that the story could be credible only to those who had never seen an Oriental solo-dance.[3] It may be replied that we do not know how far the Herods subscribed to Graeco-Roman notions of propriety: on a good many points they seem to have been a somewhat uninhibited family. Nor do we know

[1] *The Gospel before the Gospels* (1928), p. 141, n. 1.
[2] E. Klostermann, *Das Markusevangelium*[2] (1926), p. 69.
[3] *Das Evangelium Matthäus* (1902), p. 228.

that Salome's act owed its success to any indecencies of movement or gesture. For anything that Mark tells us her performance may have been as innocuous as that of the Fairy Queen in pantomime. Moreover, we do know a little about dancing in Jewish circles;[1] and it is clear that it could be a perfectly respectable exercise in which eminently respectable people took part.[2] At the same time it must be recognized that in this account of John's death we have something which does not depend on the first hand knowledge of the Evangelist or of his traditional informant, St. Peter. We can only make guesses at the origin of the report; and perhaps the best guess is that it is the story of John's passion, as it was told by his disciples in Palestine. They may well have improved it in detail in the telling and retelling; and, equally, the main lines of the story may well be in accordance with the facts.

John was put to death primarily because he was regarded as politically dangerous. A few months later Jesus was crucified on similar grounds, with even less justification. For neither Jesus nor John would have walked across the street to take over the throne of Antipas or of imperial Caesar himself. Both Josephus and the Gospels make it clear that John's main interest was in the preparation of a people of God worthy of the name. Such a community would be able to face the coming Messiah serenely confident that his coming to them would be for their vindication and not judgement. What kind of ideal did John set before his followers?

According to Josephus he "bade the Jews to cultivate virtue (ἀρετή) by justice (δικαιοσύνη) towards each other and piety (εὐσεβεία) towards God, and (so) to come to baptism; for immersion, he said, would only appear acceptable to God if practised, not as an expiation for specific offences (ἐπί τινων ἁμαρτάδων παραιτήσει), but for the purification of the body, when the soul had already been thoroughly cleansed by righteousness" (Thackeray's trans.). It is clear that "virtue" here is

[1] See, for example, S. Krauss, *Talmudische Archäologie* III (1912), pp. 99-102; Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar*, i. 682 f.

[2] See the *Mishnah, Sukkah*, v. 1-4 (trans. H. Danby, pp. 179 f.); *Tos. Sukkah* iv. 1-4 (trans. A. W. Greenup, *Sukkah, Mishna and Tosefta* (1925), pp. 80 f.)

the inclusive word and that " justice " and " piety " are the main elements in virtue. What Josephus means by the word may be gathered from *Ant.* i. 7. 1 (§ 155), where we are told that Abraham " began to have more lofty conceptions of virtue than the rest of mankind, and determined to reform and change the ideas universally current concerning God " [1]—virtue includes monotheistic religion; and *Ant* i. 10. 3 (§ 183), where God commends Abraham's virtue, and the context makes it clear that virtue in this case is Abraham's generous treatment of the Palestinian kings. Virtue includes religion and morality.[2] The term δικαιοσύνη covers the whole duty of the Jew towards his fellow-men, as that duty is defined in the Law. When John urged the people to " cultivate virtue by justice towards each other and piety towards God ", he was calling them to a reformation of character of a thoroughgoing kind covering all that we should call religion and morality. According to Josephus the baptism, which John also required, was to be the outward and visible concomitant of an inward and spiritual cleansing of the soul. Here there is a close parallelism with the proselytes' baptism; for in the case of the proselyte the ritual bath was a bodily purification which accompanied the complete acceptance by the convert of the Jewish Law as the rule of his worship and conduct.

The Gospels in their own way corroborate what Josephus says in his. Mark tells us that John preached a baptism based on repentance and leading to forgiveness of sins (i. 4). There

[1] Thackeray's translation, Loeb *Josephus*, iv. 77.

[2] So in *Ant.* vi. 8. 1 (§ 160) ἀρετή or ' beauty of soul ' (τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς κάλλος) consists in εὐσεβεία, δικαιοσύνη, ἀνδρεία and πειθώ. In *Ant.* vi. 12. 7 (§ 265), piety and righteousness are coupled together as urgently needed qualities in rulers, and in viii. 4. 4 (§ 121) as equally necessary for the people. Josephus is not quite consistent, since in c. *Ap.* ii 170 f., he argues that Moses did not make religion (εὐσεβεία) a department of virtue (ἀρετή), but the various virtues—justice, temperance, fortitude, harmony in all matters between members of the community—departments of religion. In the passage on John he would seem to regard righteousness and piety as departments of virtue as in *Ant.* vi 160. In general it looks as if Josephus thinks of δικαιοσύνη as the right relation between man and man, and of εὐσεβεία as the right relation between man and God. Cf. Cicero, *de nat. deor.* I. 41. § 116 est enim pietas iustitia aduersum deos, with Mayor's note.

was to be a turning of the whole man away from wrongdoing to make a new beginning in loyalty to God and obedience to his will. The outward sign of this inward change was baptism. The results to follow were " fruits worthy of repentance "—what Josephus calls " justice towards each other and piety towards God "—and the forgiveness of past offences. In this context ἄφεσις ἁμαρτιῶν probably meant that if John's hearers really wished to make a new beginning, God would give them a clean sheet.

This general exhortation to repentance and reformation is supplemented in Luke by a few instructions. We are told that " the crowds questioned him saying, ' What, then, are we to do ? ' In reply he said, ' The man who has two shirts must share with the man who has none. And he who has food must do the same.' And tax-gatherers came also to be baptized ; and they said to him ' Teacher, what are we to do ? ' He said, ' Don't exact anything over and above the amount laid down for you.' And service men asked him, ' And we, what are we to do ? ' He said, ' Don't bully or blackmail anyone, and be content with your pay '."[1] The righteousness preached by John includes not only abstention from acts of injustice—fraud and violence—but also positive beneficence and acts of generosity.

It is at this point that I think we may identify a disciple of John in the Gospel story. I refer to Zacchaeus. All we know about him is told by Luke.[2] He lived in Jericho, was a chief tax-gatherer and was rich. He wanted to have a look at Jesus, who was passing through the city ; but, being a little man, he found his view blocked by the crowds. So he ran on ahead and climbed a tree on the route that Jesus was taking. Jesus looked up and saw him and at once invited himself to spend the day as Zacchaeus' guest. Zacchaeus was only too delighted to receive Jesus ; but the crowd were not so pleased that—so their complaint ran—Jesus had gone in to be the guest of a sinner. But Zacchaeus would not give way. He said to Jesus, " Behold, Lord, I give half of my possessions to the poor, and I repay

[1] Luke iii. 10-14.

[2] Luke xix. 1-9. Verse 10 is a separate saying appended by the Evangelist. The real climax of the story is in verse 9.

four-fold anything that I have wrongfully exacted from anybody". I believe that Godet[1] was right in taking these words as expressing, not a good resolution just taken by Zacchaeus, but his regular practice. The present tenses are genuine presents and not futures. What he says may be paraphrased thus: "Sinner am I? The truth, sir, is that I give . . ."

The response of Jesus to this declaration was: *σήμερον σωτηρία τῷ οἴκῳ τούτῳ ἐγένετο, καθότι καὶ αὐτὸς υἱὸς Ἀβραάμ.* "Today salvation has come to this house because he too is a 'son of Abraham'."

The best commentary on all this is to put side by side some details of the Zacchaeus story and the corresponding details in the preaching of John the Baptist.

Luke iii	Luke xix
11 Clothing and food to be shared with the destitute.	8[a] I give half of my posessions to the poor.
13 Tax-gatherers are not to overcharge.	8[b] In any case of wrongful overcharge I repay fourfold. (The actual word used here—*συκοφαντέω*—occurs in John's injunction to soldiers not to demand money with menaces (iii. 14)).
8 Don't begin to think, "We have Abraham as our father".	9 He is a son of Abraham.

I think, too, that there is a play upon words in the reply of Jesus. The complaint of the onlookers was that he, Jesus, had gone to the house of a sinner. The reply is salvation has come to this house because it is not the house of a sinner at all; it belongs to a genuine "son of Abraham", an Israelite indeed. But the name Jesus and the noun "salvation" are alike derivatives from the same Hebrew root YŠ' (ישע)

If these arguments are sound the little drama runs something like this. Jesus and Zacchaeus are on their way to the house of the latter. Murmurs are heard from the crowd: "Jesus going to stay with a sinner!"

Zacchaeus stops and says in effect: "Look here, sir. I am no 'sinner': I am a follower of John the Baptist." Jesus says to the crowd: "And that is why Jesus is going to stay with him, because he is a genuine 'son of Abraham'."

[1] *Commentary on St. Luke's Gospel* (E.T. 1875), ii. 215-19.

SWIFT'S GAMES WITH LANGUAGE IN RYLANDS ENGLISH MS. 659

By GEORGE MAYHEW, M.A., PH.D. (Harvard)

AMONG the Thrale-Piozzi papers acquired by The John Rylands Library in 1918 are several miscellaneous manuscripts in the hand of Jonathan Swift.[1] Four of the items (Nos. 7, 12, 14, 17) preserved there now in English MS. 659 have a bearing upon Swift's life-long interest in language and his games with language. All of them appear to come from the period 1720 to 1735. Three—and possibly all—of the items have to do with the Rev. Dr. Thomas Sheridan, Swift's " viceroy Jester " in Ireland, and with things Irish. Two are unfinished fragments: some notations of Scotch dialect and Irish idiom; and a series of " bulls ", or logical blunders. Two other pieces are more finished. The one is a copy of an unpublished letter in Latino-Anglicus to Dr. Sheridan which ought to be included in Swift's *Correspondence*;[2] the other is a systematic quibble in English upon the letters of the Greek alphabet.

This last item (No. 7) is chiefly notable for showing how far Swift would go to display his wit, accept a dare, or—most probably—win a bet. There are no sure indications of the circumstances of composition or date of the piece. The game here was to combine the words " a Guinea " with puns in English upon the sounds of all the letters in the Greek alphabet, a combination suggesting—as the second entry has it—that someone had " bet a Guinea ".

[1] Moses Tyson, *Hand-list of Additions to the Collection of English Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library, 1928-35*, pp. 7, 32. I wish to express my thanks to the Librarian, Professor Edward Robertson, for his help and encouragement, and for providing me with the photostats from which I have worked.

[2] I have used *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, D.D.*, ed. F. Elrington Ball, 6 vols., 1910-14. Hereafter referred to as *Corresp.*

Rylands English MS. 569, Item 7

1. α. half a Guinea
   β. bet a Guinea, never beat a Guin—
   γ. Game a Guinea
   δ. Dealt a Guinea
5. ε. among Apes I long for a Guinea
   ζ. I ze eat a Guinea. Yorkshire man
   η. I eat a Guinea. any other English man
   θ. Ith eat a Guinea. a lisping girl
   ι. A Shop, I ow't a Guinea
10. κ. I cap a G——
   λ. I never lamb'd a Guinea
   μ. I mew like a Cat for a G.
   ν. I love a new Guin——
   ϖ. a Guin—— thrown at my head. O my croun
15. π. A Guinea is a Pye to me
   ρ. I wish I had 100 Gu—— in a Row
   σ. I seek my Guin
   τ. I play Tau with a Guin
   υ. I play less, and the Guin goes Up so long
20. φ. Dare you say fye to a Guinea.
   χ. A girl that cant speak plain. I chy for that Guinea
   ψ. In th' hips I am without a Guinea
   ω. O, meg a Guin

Tentatively, it is possible to assign this piece to a period between 1720 and 1724 when Swift's mind ran much upon monetary affairs like the South Sea Bubble, the proposals for establishing an Irish Bank, and the beginnings of the Drapier controversy. In such poems as *An Elegy on Demar* (1720), *The Bubble* (1720), *The Bank thrown down* (1721), and *A Serious Poem upon William Wood* (1724) Swift punned at length upon the various terms current in Ireland for money. On 3 February 1721-2, Swift wrote to Adrian Drift, the secretary and literary executor of his recently deceased friend, Matthew Prior (*Corresp.*, vol. vi, pp. 235-7). Swift mentioned the difficulties in getting people in Ireland to pay up their second guinea for a subscription edition of Prior's poems; asked Drift to notice that a guinea

was then worth in Ireland one pound three shillings; and promised to get in touch with a Colonel Pennefather, Prior's cousin and an official at the Dublin Customs House.[1] In another letter of 1 June 1723, to Robert Cope, Swift wrote, " The College and I are fallen out about a Guinea ", a reference, perhaps, to the learned foolery under discussion here, or to the unpaid subscriptions for Prior's poems (*Corresp.*, vol. iii, p. 166). It is clear that money—and especially a guinea—was more on Swift's mind than normally between 1720 and 1724, either as a serious preoccupation, or as matter for jests and puns.

This little punning exercise has the appearance of being an ingenious wit-trap, prepared in advance and neatly written out, having some particular occasion or person in mind, to be sprung, with the help of some fellow-jester like Sheridan, as a display of spontaneous ingenuity. Sheridan himself may even have been the victim. Swift loved a " bite ", and not the least when he could turn off with it, seemingly on the spur of the moment, an astonishing display of brilliant wit that would astound his audience. But he thought long and laboured hard to bring off his " bites ". In 1713, for example, he and Dr. Arbuthnot carefully devised and planted " A Lye " among their London friends, intending—unsuccessfully, as it developed—a " bite " upon the town for April Fool's day.[2] At almost the same moment Swift and Sir Andrew Fountaine were at work drawing up a list of specialized quibbles called " If-puns " to spring upon their Irish friends in conversation.[3] And, as will appear below, Swift worked just as hard at composing the seemingly effortless Anglo-Latin *jeux d'esprit* he exchanged with Sheridan in the 1730s. The little wit game presented here has all the earmarks of being as carefully prepared, in order to dazzle some unsuspecting person and win his guinea.

[1] An undated letter to " *Worthy Mr.* Pennefeather " that punned upon all the terms for coins then current in Ireland (including a guinea) was printed by Hawkesworth in his quarto edition, 1755, of Swift's *Works*, vol. vi (2), p. 166. The letter has since been allowed to drop out of the *Correspondence*. It was probably sent, about 1721 or 1722, to the Colonel Pennyfather mentioned here.

[2] *Jonathan Swift:* " *Journal to Stella* ", ed. Sir Harold Williams, 2 vols., 1948. Hereafter referred to as *Journal to Stella*. See vol. ii, p. 650 and n. 35.

[3] *Corresp.*, vol. ii, p. 408 and *Journal to Stella*, vol. ii, p. 654. Cf. pp. 641, 653.

An interesting aspect of Swift's practices in wit may be illustrated by the piece under discussion; it shows how far Swift was willing to stretch words and to compromise his more formal scruples about language for a bit of fun. His quibbling " Castilian " language of 1707 had permitted an occasional word or phrase in French or Greek, in order to liven up the systematized punning upon English words, and especially those of Latin derivation. The three Anglo-Latin languages which Swift and Sheridan devised and methodized in the 1730s permitted the same occasional variations, as well as tolerating, for Sheridan's sake, a bit of a brogue, or, as in every-day speech, allowing for some careless slurring of words. Here, in what appears to be Swift's only punning exercise in English and Greek, he took similar liberties, perhaps all the more because money was at stake. To win his bet Swift was forced to employ some of the very corruptions and abuses of language to which he had objected in *Tatler*, No. 230 (1710), in his *Proposal* to Lord Oxford about the English tongue (1712), and which he was to satirize once more in *Polite Conversation* (1738). For the sake of the fun and a guinea Swift here was compelled to use the elisions he hated, and (double perfidy !) to elide and use an abbreviated cant word he detested, " th' hips ". But it was all in fun, and he went merrily on, calling upon the pronunciation of an Englishman, the lispings of " a girl that cant speak plain ", and the broad dialect of a " Yorkshire man " in order to pun methodically through the Greek alphabet " for a Guinea ".

A bit of Yorkshire dialect, the lispings of a young girl, are not so far-fetched as they may seem, if one remembers Swift's life-long interest in the spoken word. In spite of his recurring deafness Swift listened continually, repeating and often noting down the peculiarity of phrase, the exact slurring of an expression, the precise words, and the very tones used by all ranks of society in the course of every-day speech. *Polite Conversation*, the last major prose work published in Swift's life-time, is practically a monument to the foibles of middle-class speech under Anne and the Georges. But Swift did not confine his interest to the diction of one class. Various portions of so early a work as *A Tale of a Tub* were enlivened by the authentic speech of a

weaver, a mercer, a book-seller and a Grub-street hack.[1] At the same time the progressive deterioration of the characters of Peter and Jack was in part accomplished by making them speak progressively worse, first as a Schoolman reasoning syllogistically, or as an English gentleman arguing civilly, and finally as a ranting rogue, or as a canting enthusiast.[2] The consistently maintained " plain simple Style " of Lemuel Gulliver, and the winning—and whining—tone of sweet reasonableness of the projector of *A Modest Proposal* (1729) are probably the highest reaches to which Swift applied his keen ear for the spoken word. But it was only by close attention and much practice, and by exercising his eternal curiosity about the way even the lowliest person thought and spoke that Swift arrived at such perfection of expression.

Nor did Swift confine his interest to the speech of one nation. Once he had shaken off the three-year lethargy that followed his " banishment " to Ireland in 1714, he began to show interest in the Irish, and the Scotch in Ireland. Even before this time Swift had held the Scotch and their language in no great esteem, and his later opinion of the Irish language was, if anything, even lower. In 1729 and after, Swift went so far as to recommend publicly that the Irish language be abolished, the quicker the better.[3] And yet, almost in the same breath, he took pains to

[1] *A Tale of a Tub*, eds. A. C. Guthkelch and D. Nichol Smith, 1920. Hereafter referred to as *A Tale of a Tub*. See p. 46 for the Weaver's speech, pp. 206-7 for the Bookseller's, and " The Preface ", especially, for that of the Grub-street hack. The Mercer's patter (pp. 86-7) is very convincing :

> *An please your Worships* (said he) *My Lord* C——, *and Sir* J. W. *had linings out of this very Piece last Night: it takes wonderfully, and I shall not have a Remnant left, enough to make my Wife a Pin-cushion by to morrow morning at ten a Clock.*

In his " Account of Expences From Nov^br^ 1. 1708 to Nov^br^ 1. 1709 " (Forster No. 506), Swift jotted down a trade secret he received from one of the tradesmen whose speech he was able so successfully to imitate :

> Hatters Rule : Not leave a Hatt when dry[ing] it too long upon Basin, but as little as possible, and if possible, not at all. given me as a great Secret.

[2] *A Tale of a Tub*, pp. 83-7, 116-19, 120-2, 138-9, 192-4, 197-8.

[3] *The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift, D.D.*, ed. Temple Scott, 12 vols., 1897-1908. Hereafter referred to as T. Scott, *Prose Works*. See vol. vii, p. 133 (" An Answer to Several Letters Sent Me from Unknown Hands ") and vol. vii, 345-6 (" On Barbarous Denominations in Ireland ").

point out that it was the Irish, after all, who had founded Scotland as a colony and had introduced Christian culture to England.[1] Swift blamed the Irish and the Scotch for succumbing to the corruptions inherent in all things that constantly threatened any northern culture. In the scheme of things that Swift inherited from Sir William Temple, such a creeping decay, unless opposed continuously and actively, would result in a relapse of that culture into its original state of rude northern barbarism, in language as in all other things.[2] What remained among the peoples of Ireland of their former glory, their ancient wisdom, and their natural wit, was preserved for Swift in their ready humour, their folk sayings, their colourful speech. Writing in Sheridan's *Intelligencer* (No. III) in 1728, and speaking of the " old Irish " and of the Scotch in Ireland, Swift praised their purely natural " Taste of Humour ; . . . we observe it sometimes among common Servants, and the Meanest of People, while the very Owners are often ignorant of the Gift they possess ".

Some examples of that natural " Taste of Humour ", some of the " uncouth terms and phrases, as well as accent " that he once spoke of (as saving the circumstantial discourse of a Scot from tediousness)[3] are, fittingly enough, found together in the second item (No. 12). The first page, cancelled by two diagonals, is headed " Quilca lingua ". It contains nine phrases of Irish idiom. Page 3 contains five sentences in Scotch dialect, and it is endorsed on the back merely " Scotch ". These last entries Swift began recording with a fine pen in a cramped hand. After the second sentence he switched to pencil and wrote more hurriedly.

[1] *The Poems of Jonathan Swift*, ed. Sir Harold Williams, 3 vols., 1937. Hereafter referred to as *Poems*. See vol. iii, pp. 790-1 and notes (*Verses occasioned by the sudden drying up of St. Patrick's Well*).

[2] " This perpetual disposition to shorten our words by retrenching the vowels, is nothing else but a tendency to lapse into the barbarity of those northern nations, from whom we are descended, and whose languages labour all under the same defect." (*A Proposal for Correcting, Improving, and Ascertaining the English Tongue.*) T. Scott, *Prose Works*, vol. xi, p. 13.

[3] T. Scott, *Prose Works*, vol. xi, p. 75 (*Hints Towards an Essay on Conversation*).

Rylands English MS. 659. Item 12.
Page 3

A Sicker chil, he lays doun ean & takes up twa.
The Deel had the Gravel when he flew oer this Country
'Twill be ne merker (darker) quo Jinny
Creiggs

Deel tak that Meal that wont abide a
Blessing) taking Snuff in a windy day
I have broke my Tee my Tow, and my
twa Couping Leathers Crupper
Breast plate and Stirrups

Then, probably at a later date, Swift once more copied them out fairly in pen, changing the sentences a bit, and adding, at the top of the facing page, a sixth sentence that is as Scotch as mist:

Twill be ne merker quo Jinny Greggs
The Deel take that meal that will ne bide
a Blessing. (when the wind blew away the Snuff)
I broke my Tee my Tow and my twaw
Couping leathers (Crupper, Breast plate, Stirrups)

A Sicker Chill he lays doun ee' & takes up twa
The Deel had the grevel when he flew over
that Country

Page 2

A Gay bit doun the Bray ore the burn
and out of yet (gate)

The way in which Swift recorded these sentences, writing hurriedly, and partly in pencil, suggests that they were first taken down just as they were spoken, and that some of the words, and the manner of pronouncing them, were strange to Swift's ears. " Tak " (l. 5) and " twa " (ll. 1, 8), " chil " (l. 1) and " ean " (l. 1) catch the exact vowel sounds; " 'Twill " (l. 3), " Deel " (ll. 2, 5), " oer " (l. 2) and " quo " (l. 3) the slurring of initial, medial, or final syllables typical of Scotch dialect. Swift hurriedly glossed some of the more unfamiliar words as he

wrote; in the fifth sentence he was apparently so intent upon getting down the Scotch words that he omitted " broke " and had to insert it afterwards above the line.

At some later time, when he returned to write them out fairly in ink, Swift very naturally began by copying first the smudgy entries in pencil. In the process of copying he made several small changes—sometimes for the better. Most of the alterations, slight as they are, imply that by the later date Swift's ear had become better attuned to the nuances of the dialect he was recording. " Twill be *ne* merker " (l. 10) and " will *ne* bide " (l. 11), the spelling " grevel " (l. 16), and the correction of the surname to " Greggs " (l. 10) are refinements in the direction of greater accuracy. The regularization of the spellings " tak " and " oer ", however, are losses in the other direction. But after all, Swift's jottings reproduce fairly accurately the Scotch dialect as he heard it, and as it became increasingly familiar to him. The sentence at the top of the second page is recorded with the exact diction, the precise phrasing and accent that show a developed ear for a typical homely Scotch sentence.

The contents of these sentences show that Swift's chief interest was in the proverbial wisdom, the pawky humour, and the colourful expressions among the Scots. " A Sicker chil, he lays doun ean & takes up twa " is a kind of proverbial saying for which there is no exact English equivalent, although the sense of it, " Give one to take two ", is clear enough. Similarly, " 'Twill be no merker quo Jinny Creiggs " may be proverbial, or else the climactic or repetitive phrase from a ballad or folk-tale. Again, a rough English equivalent might be something like " Now or never ". In two others, the devil is invoked with the wry natural humour that Swift so much admired. He was always on the look-out for proverbs or expressions having to do with Old Nick, as the number of them in *Polite Conversation* testifies. His own two favourite maledictions were variations upon " With a Pox ! " and " the Devil ! "

Here, both examples involving the devil say something, as well, about the nature of the countryside in which Swift was writing. " The Deel had the Gravel when he flew oer this Country " is a humorously vulgar way of describing a country

full of lakes and bogs; it is also, in all probability, a pun upon the thin gravelly nature of the soil. "Deel tak that Meal that wont abide a Blessing" was undoubtedly said, on some windy moor or upland, by an exasperated Scot, when he lost the tobacco Swift was in the habit of presenting to his Scotch and Irish friends. Behind the expression lies the Scotch proverb, "The devil is busy and abroad in a high wind".[1] The last two colourful expressions would seem to have to do with hard riding in strange country. "I have broke my Tee my Tow, and my twa Couping Leathers" may well have been said by some horseman whom Swift met. "A Gay bit doun the Bray ore the burn and out of yet (gate)" sounds like a countryman's direction given to a stranger going across or out of the park of an estate: "Go a middling distance down the hill, across the river, and out through the gate."

The hasty way in which Swift recorded these sentences verbatim, his increased familiarity, after a time, with the dialect, the allusions, in some, to hard riding through a windy country of poor soil, rivers, lakes and marshes, all these make it reasonable to assume that Swift recorded the sentences in the course of a lengthy ramble on horse to northern parts, where the people spoke a Scotch dialect. Swift made just such a lengthy tour of Ulster and the North between April and October, 1722. In the middle of his journey he wrote to Vanessa to say that he had slept in thirty different beds, had covered 400 miles, and would do another 200 before he returned.[2] On his way back to Dublin, in August, 1722, Swift paid what was apparently his first visit to Quilca, Sheridan's country house in Cavan. Since the page of Irish phrases, found with these Scotch dialect sentences in Item 12, is headed "Quilca lingua", it is possible to date them both, and to argue that Swift jotted down these fragments of

[1] This expression was well-known in Dublin in Swift's youth, since it is found in the *Tripos* spoken by John Jones at Trinity College, Dublin, in July, 1688. See the Rev. John Barrett's *Essay on the Earlier Part of the Life of Swift* (1808), p. 58. (Of "A College Steward"):

> He never says grace before meat, and for a very good reason; his victuals, like the Scotchman's snuff, will not bide a blessing: the holy words would transubstantiate them into maggots.

[2] *Corresp.*, vol. iii, p. 131 and n. 1, 135-6.

Scotch and Irish in the course of his northern ramble, and during his first visit to Quilca in the summer of 1722.

Swift visited often at Quilca, returning there—with Stella and Rebecca Dingley—to pass Christmas, 1723, and to spend the summers of 1724 and 1725. During this last stay he transcribed and corrected for publication the manuscript of *Gulliver's Travels*. In subsequent visits he found fault increasingly with the weather, the house, and the Irish servants. But his first visit in August, 1722, must have been more enjoyable. In a Christmas letter, dated 22 December of that year, Swift in Dublin teased Sheridan at Quilca by listing all the pleasures they had enjoyed together in the by-gone days of August :

> You will find Quilca not the thing it was last August ; nobody to relish the lake ; nobody to ride over the downs ; no trout to be caught ; no dining over a well ; no night heroics ; no morning epics ; no stolen hour when the wife is gone ; no creature to call you names. Poor miserable Master Sheridan ! No blind harpers ! No journeys to Rantavan ! (*Corresp.*, vol. iii, p. 147).

After a solitary ramble through the south of Ireland in the summer of 1723, a trip that resembles his northern one of the previous year, Swift himself spent Christmas that year at Quilca. At that time Sheridan presented him with a poem, " A New Year's Gift for the Dean of St. Patrick's. Given him at Quilca ", a passage from which describes Swift's pursuits during his first visits there, his interest in the " old Irish ", and in their language.

> Instead of Bolingbroke & Anna,
> Shane Tunelly & Bryan Granna,
> Oxford & Ormond he supplies
> In ev'ry Irish Teague he spies ;
> So far forgetting his old station
> He seems to like their conversation.
> Conforming to the tatter'd Rabble
> He learns their Irish Tongue to gabble,
> And w^t^ our Anger more provokes
> He's pleased with their insipid jokes.
>
> (*Poems*, vol. iii, p. 1040.)

It seems to me very likely that Swift made the following notations of his talks with " Shane Tunelly & Brian Granna " while at Quilca in August, 1722, at a time when the place and its people were still an agreeably novel experience. Unlike the sentences of Scottish dialect, these nine entries in Irish idiom

are more fragmentary and cryptic. Some of them are no more than private reminders, brief expressions and turns of phrase that meant something to Swift but mean nothing to us.

Rylands English MS. 659. Item 12.
Page 1

1. Quilca lingua
Will you crooken Scruple
By Power anger.
The Devil's Daugh^{tr}
5. Shall I Devils House & Seat in Church
I am knot upon Scarlet
M^{r} Hughs's Daugh^{tr}.
God of Cull [?] and the Island when Jup^{tr} was born
Beast with long Ears and A in French, [little dog]
10. a frighten Toun
Talk Yard and a quarter me. pray tell me

As with the Scotch sentences, what Swift noted down here were the examples of native wit, proverbial wisdom, and the colourful turns of phrase. " The Devil's Daugh^{tr} ", for instance, is slang for " a shrew ", and comes from a proverb about the devil that is usually spoken of a person who, by an ill-considered marriage, has made unpromising connections, " As bad as marrying the devil's daughter, and living with the old folks ". This was Sheridan's situation exactly ; " the devil's daughter " was the least that he and Swift called the fiery Mrs. Sheridan. " Shall I Devils House & Seat in Church " omits its verb, but it is probably an Irish variation upon the English proverb that Defoe once rhymed :

> Wherever God erects a house of prayer,
> The Devil always builds a chapel there :
> And 'twill be found upon examination,
> The latter has the largest congregation.

" Will you crooken Scruple ", " I am knot upon Scarlet ", and " M^{r} Hughs's Daugh^{tr} " are probably local turns of phrase that Swift understood. " By Power anger ", and " God of Cull

[Coole, Kells ?] and the Island when Jup^tr^ was born " have about them the ring of phrases from a myth or folk-tale, perhaps as told or sung by someone like the blind harper whom Swift mentioned.

With the last two entries, however, we are on familiar ground. " Talk Yard and a quarter me " to equal " pray t*ell* me " is the kind of punning that Swift enjoyed, and the kind of " insipid joke " that Sheridan complained of in his poem. The beast with long ears is, of course, an ass. Swift wrote two long series of such quibbles in rhyme. The method of this game was to take the name of the long-eared beast, combine it with a second word, to produce a third word, the answer to the riddle. An example may be given from one of the rhymed series entitled *Probatur Aliter ;* its answer, " A Shock ", is probably the same required by the entry above :

> A long-eared Beast, and Rhenish Wine,
> Lies in the Lap of Ladies fine.
> (*Poems*, vol. iii, p. 942 ; cf. pp. 940-1.)

Probatur Aliter is undated, and it is tempting to speculate that Swift may have conceived the idea of his riddles in rhyme by hearing similar riddles spoken at Quilca in August, 1722.

The third item (No. 14) in the Rylands MS. consists of two pages of " bulls ". They are all in Swift's hand, except for the final one, which is written by Dr. Thomas Sheridan. The heading " Bulls, Anglo-Lat-Polite, &c " is misleading, since there are no entries in Anglo-Latin, nor any included in *Polite Conversation* as published, although Swift did scatter a few " bulls " through that work.[1] The " bulls " here recorded seem

[1] T. Scott, *Prose Works*, vol. xi. The " bulls " in *Polite Conversation* are usually clichés, and are spoken by the characters as self-conscious attempts at humour :

Col. A blind man would be glad to see that (p. 235).
Miss. Would I could see it, quoth blind Hugh (p. 245).
Miss. Yes ; he's a handsome-bodied man in the face (p. 255).
Col. The fellow's well enough, if he had any guts in his brains (p. 257).
Lady Smart. No, sir ; it [a watch] has been twenty years in my lord's family ; but *Quare* put a new case and dial-plate to it.
Neverout. Why, that's for all the world like the man who swore he kept the same knife forty years, only sometimes he changed the haft, and sometimes the blade (p. 298).

to me to have been intended for a collection of English blunders that Sheridan was making at Swift's suggestion and with his help, in the fall of 1730, and thereafter worked at but never published.

The term " *Irish* bull " did not become common usage until later in the eighteenth century,[1] and Swift himself is probably partly to blame for fixing the " bull " peculiarly upon the Irish. Very early Swift spoke of any ludicrous illogicality as " a blunder ", and he did not necessarily associate it with Ireland. From 1710 onward he spoke of " *Irish* blunders ". But by the 1730s the " bull ", for Swift, was as typical of Irish wit and speech as a brogue.[2] Thus, in 1733, speaking for " we " English in Ireland, he complained of Irish place-names in his essay *On Barbarous Denominations in Ireland*. Having dismissed the affectations of Court speech, Cockney, provincial English dialects, and the rough cadence of Scotch as " offensive enough ", he went on :

> But none of these defects derive contempt to the speaker : whereas, what we call the *Irish brogue* is no sooner discovered than it makes the deliverer in the last degree ridiculous and despised ; and from such a mouth, an Englishman expects nothing but bulls, blunders, and follies.
>
> (T. Scott, *Prose Works*, vol. vii, p. 346.)

Swift distinguished between two kinds of " bulls ", both of which are represented in the Rylands MS. One was the spoken or written " bull ", a ludicrous self-contradiction or logical impossibility ; the other was what he called " a practical bull ", in which an action spoke louder than words. An epigram upon Ireland that begins " Behold ! a proof of *Irish* sense !/Here *Irish*

[1] In his folio *Dictionary*, for example, Dr. Johnson glossed the word as " A blunder ; a contradiction " and thought it was derived from a Papal bull. Capt. Grose, in the 1797 ed. of *A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue*, ed. Eric Partridge (1931), p. 59, concluded his definition with the words " . . . by a bull is now always meant a blunder made by an Irishman ".

[2] In a letter of 3 Feb. 1703-4, to Rev. William Tisdall, Swift used the word " blunders " when referring to some of Stella's " bulls ", and to others made by Tisdall and recorded by Mrs. Dingley. *Corresp.*, vol. i, p. 42. In the *Journal to Stella*, vol. i, p. 124 (14 Dec., 1710), Swift called attention to " a good Irish blunder " of his own making, and he was still using that expression in 1725, in the poem " On Wood the Iron-monger ", *Poems*, vol. i, p. 353. It was not until about 1730, so far as I can discover, that Swift began to employ regularly the word *bull*, and put *Irish* before it.

wit is seen . . . ", and by tradition supposed to be one of Swift's last compositions, is the commemoration of a practical " bull " of the Irish, enormous enough to arouse Swift's last contempt, and his wonder at their humour. Examples of the other kind of " bull ", employed as an occasional device of Swift's satire, are to be found in his works, from *A Tale of a Tub* to *Polite Conversation*.[1]

That the final " bull " is found written in the hand of Dr. Sheridan is fitting enough, since they were all intended to fatten a book of " bulls " which Sheridan projected, probably at Swift's suggestion, and certainly with his aid. In personal matters Swift often advanced and pushed the fortunes of his friend Sheridan with a series of Viceroys, as far as Sheridan's own fecklessness would allow. And when Sheridan, by a foolish blunder of his own, drew upon himself the enmity of such political opponents as the Whig Privy Councillor, the Honourable Richard Tighe, Swift loyally joined Sheridan in returning the attack. In literary matters Swift appears to have been equally generous to Sheridan, suggesting projects, giving hints, collaborating in some of the enterprises, and puffing them among his English friends. Sheridan's *Ars Punica* (1719), a codification, in thirty-four " rules ", of the art of punning, was probably begun at Swift's suggestion. Only Swift could have contributed some of the puns there credited to him and used to illustrate various " rules ". In 1728, when Sheridan began his short-lived *Intelligencer*, Swift contributed the better half of the nineteen numbers.

In the fall of 1730 Swift appears to have set Sheridan upon

[1] Although Swift did not make use of the word *bull* in *A Tale of a Tub* (and thereby missed a chance to get in some additional punning in the passage on Papal bulls) the idea of a blunder was used in some of his parodies. The Grub-street hack parodied in " The Epistle Dedicatory to Prince Posterity " is made to say (p. 33):

> The *never-dying* Works of these illustrous Persons, your Governour Time, Sir, has devoted to unavoidable Death. . . .

In " A Digression Concerning Criticks " Bentley is parodied by being made to repeat one of his own " bulls " (p. 102 and n.):

> A certain Author, whose Works have many Ages since been entirely lost, does in his fifth Book and eighth Chapter, say of Criticks. . . .

the task of collecting a publishable volume of English " bulls ", in retaliation for the slurs that England (and Swift) put upon Ireland on this same score. The inspiration for such a volume may well have come from the private teasing to which Swift subjected Sheridan, about his practical blundering, his own occasional written " bull ", or the tendency of the Irish generally to perpetrate such illogicalities. Publicly, however, Swift helped Sheridan by collecting such English " bulls " as he could recall, by assisting him to outline the work, and by mentioning it to his English friends. The proposed work was never published ; what remains of it are the " bulls " that Swift jotted down here, a few that Sheridan recorded,[1] and Swift's description of the projected volume in letters to English friends.

With such friends as John Gay and the Duchess of Queensbury Swift was content merely to call attention to an occasional " bull ". Writing to Gay on 19 November 1730, he referred to " a good practical bull toward the end of your [last] letter ". In a letter of 23 March 1732-3, to the Duchess, he gave her " a bull of this country " (*Corresp.*, vol. iv, pp. 180, 405). With Lord Bathurst he took a different line. In order to arouse interest he began with a bit of raillery : " I show all your letters to our Irish wits ; one of them [Sheridan] is going to write a treatise of English bulls and blunders " (*Corresp.*, vol. iv, pp. 162-3). In a letter of October, 1730, Swift wrote further to satisfy Bathurst's curiosity and to expand upon the project. His intimate connection with it is clear :

> What I mentioned in a former letter is true : that a certain wag, one of my followers, is collecting materials for a tolerable volume of English bulls, in revenge of the reproaches you throw on us upon the article. The author is a great reader of jest books, and in those of poor Robin he hath met several passages of Mr. Abdy, the famous bull-maker of his time : all these are to be gathered, others invented, and many transplanted from hence to England. All the bulls fathered upon names at length with their places of abode. Your Lordship as an old offender against me shall have half a dozen blunders charged upon your groom and coachman, no matter which, and there must be a long introduction providing the Irish rabble to have a better tact for wit than the English, for which philosophical causes shall be assigned, and many instances produced.
>
> (*Corresp.*, vol. iv, p. 168.)

[1] Sir Walter Scott, in his edition of Swift's *Works*, vol. vii (1824), pp. 154-5, printed a list of " bulls " that may be by Sheridan. See also *Corresp.*, vol. v, pp. 201, 237, 330 for others surely by Sheridan.

It is noticeable that Swift here described a sizeable work, already planned in some detail, to be methodically constructed of liftings from old jest-books, of transplanted " bulls " originally Irish, and of others " invented ". Among the blunders transcribed below, and not assigned to a particular person, one may number some of those to be " invented ". Others, including some of those that Swift had noted down, were to be assigned by name to specific individuals. To judge from Swift's examples, they were to be assigned to doddering old justices, attributed to notorious Whigs, and always to Englishmen.

From Swift's " bulls ", and from what he went on to say to Lord Bathurst about an introduction to the proposed work, it may be said that the volume was to be at least mildly satirical in purpose. Swift believed that a good satire deserved an introduction; his own " Introduction " to *Polite Conversation*, upon which he resumed work in August, 1731, is a masterpiece of that kind. The purpose of the introduction to Sheridan's project was already decided upon, undoubtedly at Swift's urging. It was to be a defence, probably ironic, of " the better tact of wit " of the Irish rabble as compared with the English, complete with " philosophical causes assigned ", and " instances produced ". It was to be upon the very subject, the natural " Taste of Humour " of the vulgar, in which Swift had interested himself during the northern trip of 1722, upon which he had written quite seriously, not long before, in *Intelligencer*, No. III, and about which he would have many hints and aids to give Sheridan.[1] Since the work was later accomplished with brilliant irony by Maria Edgeworth's *Treatise of Irish Bulls* (1803), the loss of the proposed volume is of no great consequence. The loss, however, of the introduction, in which Swift showed great interest, and in which he might have collaborated, is regrettable. It was probably by chance alone that the following entries, in the hands of Swift and Sheridan and intended for the latter's volume, were preserved.

[1] For example, a list of facetious discourses " which will be speedily published" was prefixed to *A Tale of a Tub*. It included " A modest Defence of the Proceedings of the Rabble in all Ages ".

Rylands English MS. 659, Item 14.

Page 1

Bulls, Anglo-Lat-Polite, &c.
A what do you expect to go to heaven
as long as you live, always telling lyes
Powr'd out some Sawce. S^{d} she the cup
that had no onion was the least. he s^{d} that
was not the least.
It was so neer I might have sat in
his pocket while he went into the
Church-yard to bury the corpse.
I fetch my breeth as if I was dead.
Grief in one hand & Sorrow in the
oth^{r}. S^{r} Salathiel Lovel.
Sit doun go to thy Prayers & say nevr a word
L^{d} Will. Pawlet: You are all forsworn, though
you say nevr a word
D. Bolton Pretendr, no; he's the
pretend'd Impostor
Not An. Dom. but Georges domini.
Cap. cor. mi. (for Capias corcan me)—S^{r}
[Littleton] Caulfield Powis a judge. S^{r} who is this Captn
Cormi, we have more trouble with him, than
twenty justices of Peace.

Page 2

I see the light-house. oh you can see it in the darkest night
Send her as much tea as will make her a pot of Cofee.
M^{r} Twisden drouned with. S^{r} Cl. Shovel carryd his
Will with him to Sea, to prevent accidents, &c.
Dean Cross I won't bury any man alive after
12 a clock at night.
An English Judge sayd, I have
travelled over such a Road
which is actually impassable.

The " Mr Twisden " who was cited for the practical " bull " of taking his will along with him to sea " to prevent accidents ", was Lieutenant John Twisden, R.N., drowned along with the entire company of *Association*, the flagship of Sir Cloudisley Shovel, sunk off the Scilly Islands in October, 1707. Swift may have known of him through his brother Heneage, an occasional contributor to Steele's *Tatler*.[1] " Dean Cross " was one of the Whig enemies of both Swift and Sheridan. William Cross was an Englishman who, in 1723, was made Dean of Leighlin over the heads of more deserving Irish clergymen. In Dublin he was generally despised for his lack of wit and Latin; in the poem *On Dr. Rundle* (1735) Swift later remembered him with the line " Dear *Baldwin* chaste, and witty *Crosse* " (*Poems*, vol. iii, p. 821). The " bull " upon the light-house, one of the unattributed ones of Irish origin that were to be " transplanted " to English soil, was used by Swift, with some variations, in a letter of 22 March 1732-3, to the Duchess of Queensbury. In the midst of some raillery he wrote, " I never saw your person since you were a girl, except once in the dark, to give you a bull of this country, in a walk in the Mall " (*Corresp.*, vol. iv, p. 405).

But the most notable thing about this collection is that many of the " bulls ", including the final one in Sheridan's hand, were assigned to judges—English judges—and often by name. During Swift's earlier days in London several of the men named were famous for their blundering on the bench. Sir Salathiel Lovel (1619-1713) lived to a ripe old age, serving for many years as a judge, and as City Recorder.[2] In this last capacity, as *DNB* says, Lovel was " distinguished principally for his want of memory, and his title of recorder converted into the nickname of the Obliviscor of London ". One of the " bulls " with which he is credited here was amplified and explained by Swift himself, since he used it in the letter mentioned above to

[1] Sir John R. Twisden, *The Family of Twysden and Twisden* (1939), pp. 285, 294-5.

[2] A poem of 1710, *Mr. Baron Lovel's Charge to the Grand Jury for the County of Devon*, was, until recently, attributed to Swift. See *Poems*, vol. iii p. 1083. There Lovel was characterized as " Sir Salathiel Blunder " (line 4).

Sheridan at Quilca at Christmas, 1722. There Swift wrote, "You express your happiness with Grief in one hand, and sorrow in the other" (*Corresp.*, vol iii, p. 147).

"D. Bolton" is the Whig Charles Paulet or Powlett (1661-1722), second Duke of Bolton, once Lord Justice, and later (1717) Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. *DNB* says that he signalized himself in the House of Lords, April, 1714, by seconding the motion to put a price upon the head of the exiled Pretender. It may be that he perpetrated the "bull" here recorded at that time. In all probability it is another Whig judge, his brother William, who is mentioned in the previous entry. Sir Littleton Powis (as Swift first wrote it correctly) seems to have become confused in Swift's mind with his brother, Caulfield. Littleton Powis was another judge who could not sum a cause without a blunder, and for this notorious weakness he became the victim of several contemporary satiric verses.[1]

Beyond the fact that many of the victims here named were judges, members of a profession which Swift always was ready to satirize, and Whigs, political enemies to whom he showed little mercy, lies another reason why Swift should have borne so heavily upon English lawyers as perpetraters of "bulls". In the early eighteenth century it was mistakenly assumed that the derivation of the word "bull" was from the surname of one Obadiah Bull, a London lawyer famous for such blunders in the reign of Henry the Eighth.[2] In the present instance, it was to Swift's purpose, and to Sheridan's, to make the most of this assumption, in a book that proposed to remind the English that all "bulls" were not Irish.

Publicly, Swift encouraged Dr. Sheridan in his literary projects, sided with him in political battles, and defended him as one of "us" loyal English in Ireland. By 1733 Sheridan's volume of English "bulls", however, had either been displaced

[1] Edward Foss, *The Judges of England* (1870), p. 533.

[2] See, for example, *Grose's Dictionary* (ed. cit.), p. 59:

> *Bull.* A blunder; from one Obadiah Bull, a blundering lawyer of London, who lived in the reign of Henry VIII. . . .

OED cites the *British Apollo* (1709) for a similar derivation of the word.

by, or incorporated with, a larger work,[1] about which Sheridan built glowing hopes that Swift, in a letter of 27 March, tried gently to dampen:

> I am confident your collection of *bon mots*, and *contes à rire*, will be much that best extant; but you are apt to be terribly sanguine about the profits of publishing; however it shall have all the pushing I can give.
>
> (*Corresp.*, vol. iv, p. 409.)

Privately, Swift continued to try to discourage Sheridan's unwarranted optimism, to chide him for his blundering, to scold him into sense about the conduct of his private life and the expression of his extreme Tory sympathies, and to tease him for his Irish origin. Both Swift's public loyalty to Sheridan and his private reservations about his friend's irresponsible good nature are probably best summed up by the two different and sometimes conflicting accounts he wrote of his friend, "The History of the Second Solomon" (1729), and the "Character of Dr. Sheridan" (1738).

Something of both Swift's attitudes toward his friend is contained in the last and most important item (No. 17) of the four from the Rylands MS. It is a copy of a three-page unpublished letter in Latino-Anglicus from Swift to Sheridan. The letter is a worthy and authentic part of Swift's correspondence, and it deserves to be treated as such. On the back, Swift first endorsed it "Copy of Lett^{r} to D^{r} Sh^{er}--/Lat. Angl" and then once more, in a wavering hand at a later date, as "Lett^{r} Angl. Lat/ to D^{r} Sh——n/Copy/about Jul. 1734". Such a dating from Swift's hand only adds to the already confused state of his correspondence with Sheridan in the years 1734 and 1735, when their Anglo-Latin correspondence flourished most vigorously. For this letter answers, almost paragraph by

[1] In 1744 the younger Sheridan published unsuccessful proposals for printing by subscription his father's literary remains, including "A choice collection of Apophthegms, Bon-mots, Jests, &c." The prospectus said that "most of the pieces were revised and approved by the Rev. Dr. Swift, who designed to have recommended them to the world, had they been publisht whilst the author was living". John Watkins, *Memoirs of the Public and Private Life of the Right Honourable Richard Brinsley Sheridan* (1817), p. 32. Watkins added his own comment, however correct, to the above: ". . . the apophthegms and witticisms, among which were many of Dean Swift and his friends, have been long since irrecoverably lost, through the negligence of Mr. Sheridan."

paragraph, a Latino-Anglicus letter from Sheridan at Cavan dated 15 July, 1735 (*Corresp.*, vol. v, pp. 207-8).

According to Dr. John Lyon, Swift began his plays upon Latin sound and English sense at the age of seven, while at Kilkenny School in 1673.[1] This play was continued by the punning " Castilian " language of 1707, by the Anglo-Latin and the Anglo-Greek punning of the 1720s, represented here by Item No. 7, above, and it became thoroughly developed and exploited in the three Anglo-Latin languages exchanged by Swift and Sheridan especially in 1734 and 1735. In all such games a slight brogue was tolerated, and the normal slurrings and elisions of everyday speech were allowed. Slang, cant, and abbreviations were also permitted. In the letter transcribed below several contemporary slang expressions appear: " fiz " (l. 35) for *face*, " ready rhino " (l. 36) for *cash*, " hank " (l. 65) for *a tie*, or *hold over someone*, " hunks " (l. 62) for *a surly, miserish fellow*, and " Teague " (l. 83) for *an Irishman*.

To judge from the amount of it he wrote, Swift's favourite among the three Anglo-Latin dialects was Latino-Anglicus (what he calls below " Latino-Anglica "). This language, the first of those he invented, was employed in a letter of 12 October 1723, to Sheridan, in which it was written to be read backwards as well (*Corresp.*, iii, p. 177). The game was to use individual Latin words, the sounds of which combined to produce English sense when read off. For example, the opening sentence of the letter following reads, " Alet tero fures is e vermi de lite ", " A letter of yours is ever my delight ". Anglo-Angli, the second language, was invented by Swift about the middle of 1734, and, perhaps because it was the easiest to write, it was Sheridan's favourite. In this game individual English words were read off to make another sense in English. Anglo-Latino, the third dialect, was the hardest to write, and it appears to have been employed chiefly by Swift and only in 1735. Here individual English words were read off to make Latin phrases or sentences.

Just before he left Dublin for Castle Hamilton, co. Cavan, Sheridan wrote Swift a long Latino-Anglicus letter dated

[1] Forster MS. No. 579. Notes appended to Hawkesworth's *Life of Swift* (1755), p. 12.

28 June 1734, and written " Afri de at en ac locat mi Studij ", " A Friday, at ten a clock, at my Study " (*Corresp.*, vol. v, pp. 73-5). In his letter Sheridan, as usual in need of money, begged a loan, concocted a series of clever similes, presented a bill of fare for a dinner at his house, proposed that Swift invite him to a supper at the Deanery, included a poem in praise of his " mistress " Molly, and ended with some news of the War of the Polish Succession. Swift drew upon a stock of Latino-Anglicus phrases with which he had foresightedly armed himself (pages of them are now preserved in Forster MS. No. 530) and replied in that language on the following day, 29 June 1734, or as he ended his letter, " Satur de at nite ", " Saturday at night ". Although it has since been allowed to drop out of Swift's *Correspondence* without explanation, Hawkesworth first published this letter in his quarto edition of 1755 (*Works*, vol. vi (2), pp. 160-1).

A little over a year later, on 15 July 1735, from his new school at Cavan, Sheridan wrote Swift another lengthy letter in Latino-Anglicus (*Corresp.*, vol. v, pp. 207-8). In it he complained once more of his lack of money, under cover of the Latin word " Dic " reviled at length their common Whig enemy " Dick " Tighe, went on to talk about his stomach and the state of his appetite, and ended with news of the warlike doings of Louis XV of France, all of which matters Swift touched upon in his reply transcribed below. There Swift also wrote two little poems about Sheridan's Molly, mentioned in the letter of the previous year. At some later time, when his memory was as uncertain as his hand, I believe Swift mistakenly dated this letter as written " about Jul. 1734 ", because his eye caught the poems about Sheridan's " mistress ", and because the contents of both letters and their replies were somewhat alike.

Clearly, then, the following letter must have been written soon after Sheridan's letter of 15 July 1735 was received. Sheridan intended to be in Dublin for a short visit sometime after 23 August; after the event, on 25 September, Swift wrote to Lord Orrery and described the stay in disapproving terms: " Sheridan stayed here not above ten days, all which he passed abroad, and only lay at the Deanery " (*Corresp.*, vol. v, pp. 219,

239). Swift himself was away from Dublin on short jaunts into the country at this time. In the following letter, however, he proposed that Sheridan arrange for them to take various meals together (ll. 70-2), and he generously offered his friend a chance to preach in St. Patrick's at any time, or every Sunday (ll. 73-4), invitations likely to have been made before Sheridan's arrival in town. Drafts of this letter are to be found in Forster MS. No. 530; in one place (p. 190), headed " Ans^{er} to Sh——dn ", and sandwiched in among drafts of some of the poems and phrases employed below, Swift jotted down in Latino-Anglicus an address he may have intended to use for his letter, on the assumption that Sheridan would not stay at the Deanery: " Doctor Tomis heri da nat his logi ninges in cape lis trite nec sto ab arbor ora do re orto olore ", " Doctor Thomas Sheridan at his lodgings in Capel Street next to a barber or a door or two lower ". To me, this implies that Swift composed his letter in August, 1735, at a moment when Swift knew of Sheridan's intentions of coming to Dublin, but before the latter's arrival. Perhaps Swift may even have intended to have the letter awaiting Sheridan at his Dublin lodgings as a kind of surprise welcome, before he himself was surprised by Sheridan's arrival at the Deanery for a stay there.

Before examining the letter in detail, one general point ought to be made about the Anglo-Latin correspondence of Swift and Sheridan. As in all their witty performances, they both liked to make their letters appear easy and off-hand, extemporaneous exercises in ingenuity. Actually, there is evidence on both sides to the contrary. In a letter of 21 November 1736, Sheridan confessed most ingenuously to Mrs. Whiteway that a (now lost) Anglo-Latin letter, very likely intended for Swift's birthday, had been worked upon for a week and was " not as yet finished " (*Corresp.*, vol. v, p. 394). An amusing aspect of Swift's desire to appear to write Latino-Anglicus spontaneously and effortlessly may be shown from the postscript transcribed below, itself only a copy of the eventual letter that was sent off to Sheridan in August, 1735. There, Swift broke off taunting Sheridan for his Irish ancestry by writing a dash, and then an outburst that was meant to suggest Swift's sudden exasperation

at being interrupted and having to conclude hastily. As will be shown by the preliminary drafts, his exasperated outcry, "A plague o' some puppies whose delight is to disturb a man at his studies. I never am quiet for 'um.", along with many of the paragraphs and most of the individual sentences in the following letter, were noted down well in advance, in cooler moments, on one or another of the note-book pages that are now somewhat haphazardly bound up together in Forster MS. No. 530.[1]

Rylands English MS. 659, Item 17.
Pages 1-3

Alet tero fures is e vermi de lite
De ars iri re saeve dures. Thema ni favo ursi re saeve
do fure verens en cur ages meto ritu alet ter
offas hi astra in asse veri en di taeda fore. Mi styli se is hi ;
do icon fessa fautor no. Mi mea ningis plenas apiq[ue] sta fis
Mi ad visis foras hortor an da se far arto rite Latino-Anglica
at ani time. I ac no lege misi lens is a fautor inde editis
as orto fas in. Afri en dis sum times apto puta mater in a
veri di ferent lite. Bimi artu aras se fas at hi e fine a mille.
I cum Atlas tomi Desine. It hinc ure Lati niti in sum places
is notas rite as it aut. Lilli is e vermi mas ter. Asto Cicero, i
studito i mittat his Style ver more in almi ex arsis es. A
nigram
meris fito cetus rite in amo de orat ense oras in tax. Itis as
hame
fora mas ter offas cole torite barba rus Lati nat ure age. Prae
cantu avo id it? An dure quare lingat Dic fore veras udo is
veris illi. Sumitis trudo de servit. Sum arso illi orsos ausi
orso rude orso pro udi cane ver en durum. I care nota peni
fora ni State a feres ; an da sto ure sto macto ure meat ;
eat orno te at, I valuit nota rus has i de clare : Itis a

Ll. 2-3. For. 183. 1 : Doctor Ire saeve dures. For. 205. 14-15 : Thema ni favor si re saeve do fure re verens en cur ages meto ritu.
L. 5. For. 29. 9 : Is it a Fautor no.
L. 9. For. 182. 24 : Itis assa fas at hi e fine a mille.

[1] Indicated in the apparatus by the abbreviation For., which is followed by the page and line numbers.

Ll. 10-17. For. 183. 1-7: It hinc Ure lati niti as i findit in sum places is very fauti. Prae cantu avo id it. Itis as hame in amas ter offas cole, an dure quare lingat dic fore ver, as udo is veris illi. Sum arsos illi orsos aussi orso rude orso pro udi ne ver en durum.

Ll. 16-17. Cf. For. 54. 3-4: Sum arsos illi orsos aussi orso rude in ure cum pani.

L. 19. For. 35. 6: I valuit nota rus hi de clare.

20. tale offa coque an da bullas ite quit, ora tale offa tubas sum de emit; inde editis. Trium fas longas ut hinc fit, neu sis atri
fleto me: I fluis bea conqueror orno, itis Indi ferent tomi feli
citi. Mi praeceps I findit in ure nat ure ure lis has
illas i do ures. Praei mittat me. No a frontis menti promis;
25. fore venas curvi Episcopi edi ne veri manat certa in times
Apes i mittat mensum times, an da manco pijs an Ape. Sum times an apis Afro lixam creat ure; sum times as grave as a Juge
Thus do alumen justas nat ure ope rates. An ape has
histrix justas Dic has; ÿ et Dic has it hinc more malis:—
30. Forma lis in an apis di ver tingat times, in Dic at no time.

L. 22. For. 183. 21-22: I fluis bea conqueror orno itis indi ferent tomi feli citi. Cf. For. 183. 14-17: I gaza tu re fora in in teli gens Letum fit e ito ut, beat orbe beat en formis hare. Itis no tingat alto me. Itis no en cur age mento vir tu e; For. 183. 19-20: Iambichum as reti reddas Apri est. Afri eris a politi si an in cum pari sunto me an da far mera Hero.

L. 24. First written "Prae I mittat me" in the previous line, then deleted.

L. 25. Inadvertantly Swift wrote first "Episcopis".

L. 28. The line first read, "Thus is it e veri manas his nat ure ope rates". Cf. For. 205. 25-30: An episcopi edi ne veri manat certa in times. An apis ape e vis animalis nota mansos. As grave as a juge. An apis Afro lixam creat ure. Sum times. Sum times as grave assa juge. Thus is a manas his natu re ope rates.

Ll. 28-30. Cf. For. 32. 3-4: sum findo ut nutrix e veri de. Histrix arsos illi an dea sito disco ver; For. 33. 13-14: Uras meri as His Graecis ape, Histrix aras illi as ures di ver tingas ures; For. 40. 13-14: An apis e ver agri ningas Dic; an Dic is ever agri ningas an Ape. Dic is as prolixas. For. 189. 6, 17: Histrix arso varius; Dic has inde edit hinc more malis.

31. Ure ver Caesar fine Imus tone Illicome; mi nare almo stas fine prae rea dum a spe rex ample

A sui ne is abuti cum par ito Dic

35. A site offis fis it mite me cacat sic
Rediri no at est ter, a quarto fine ale
Fora ringat his no se an da stringat his tale.

Heris notas hinc An ape i mittat es
40. Pro duces ast hinc ama[n]
Cane quale hi sto es. A manco pie an ape
At ac quin ure no se.

No rem edi certa in, in venis res i stans
45. Mi ad vicis fore verto beat adi stans.

I cum nec sto urso neto Molli

Nec sta sto ure Molli
50. Maechus mel an colli
No more at ure folli

Ure Praeses in venare, fors ure ime Afra id
Ure Mollis oh ! an sum no moris ama id

Ll. 31-2. These lines first read " ure verses fine Illico me ; mi nare as fine a spe rex ample ".

Ll. 34-7. For. 205. 7-10 ; 12 :

A Sui ne is abuti cum par ito Dic
A site offis fis it mite me cacat sic
Re diri no at es ter a quarto fine ale
Fora ringat his nos e an da stringat his tale

The third line once began " At es ter in rea diri no ; " and the last line read originally " Puta ringat ure nos e an da stringat ure tale ". in the Forster MS.

Ll. 39-42. For. 190. 12-15 :

Heris notas hinc
pro duces ast hinc
Cane quale hi sto es
At ac quin ure no se

Ll. 44-5. For. 190. 16-17 :

No rem edi cert in, in venis res is stans
Mi ad vicis fore verto beat adi stans

Ll. 52-3. For. 190. 23-4 :

Ure praeses in venare, fors ure ime Afra id
Ure Mollis oh ! an sum no moris ama id

55. Prae ob servi ne ver quota hora sudo e veri que an in ure versis.

Bimi solitis a veri fine trado fures.

Tore sumi discors. Prae here aridi culus tori. Heris a mea do ne armi es state ; Initis at hic hi hujus haec hoc ; Itis offa nil huic an per saevit at site. Sedi tomi far meri
60. Prae hos hae is it? Cantu bime summo fit? Nono sed mi far meritis in huc stares clausi pro missu ; Itis forti times as bigas ures. An ebur omine has it ; acu vetus hunc sat a peni, an das mera

cur mugio nas ani ali ve. Ab audi rogas ani ne rus. A curas ludas an En sine ; has a veri vile trade : It isto findo ut
65. ani lassat his hae cocto horum ; has a hanc o verum, se sitis no harum at alto do it. I metas luto fis in a Hac ÿ es tardae as fine as alae di Mi cursu ponit, mite nota Mandragoras o vera gutter, ora guttur. It hinc itis asinas en ormus as morde ringat nite, oras hi tres soni na prime minis tero State.
70. In mi abs ensi praebe specus ab re ac fasti nat Averne. Adi ne rate Eurus, an da superat mi ne : I supina Roma—— bove stares.

L. 56. For. 32. 1 : Bimi solitis a veri fine trado fures.

Ll. 57-69. For. 34. 10-18 : Is it notat hic an da hujus hi haec hoc? Hos is it? Ne rus is acu vetus hunc sitis his hae. Cantu bime summo fit? anser edi, No notis in huc stares clausi pro missu. It hinc itis no harum toste alit. Itis a curas ludas an en sine ; His trade isto findo ut ani lassat his haè cocto horum. I fer itis a hanc overum. I metas luto fis ina Hac. For. 197. 11-13 : Is it notat hic an da hi hujus haec hoc. Hos is it? Heris an Ne rus is acu vetus hunc sit is his ; For. 197, 16-25 : Huic, huc, hoc, hanc horum Ave sellas bigas Cantu bime summo fit No notis in Huc stares clausi I pro missu Itis no harum toste alit ab as e villa in i fis e es ani lassat his haec hoc, bis ure do es tritu horum As ludas an en sine ; His tradis to findo ut ani lassat his Hae cocto horum. Cf. For. 189. 23-4 : (Articles hic hae &c).

Ll. 67-8. [Interlined.] Cf. For. 195. 21-2 : O fit olet a Mandragoras o ver ac aussi as rufas a curri cum.

Ll. 68-9. For. 39. 19-20 : Itis asinas en ormus as morde ringat nite oras hi tres soni na prime Minister.

Ll. 70-2. For. 189. 1-5 : Praebe specus ab re ac fasti nat a ver no, adi ne rate eurus, an da superat mi ne : I supina Roma bove states Hirili.

Micat haedera lis at ure servi sto prae ac hi nat ani time, ore veris undae.

Mi cervi ceto ure laedi an dure fire si de.
Asto ure en emis, a Pax tecum alas a fini calco sine omine at rubo calles it
Siriam
mures fore ver
Irritamento it
I here ude ni ure Nati viti itis sed uras hame do fit. Itis ala foli Cum cum surdo notu prae tendit I do advisu, uras mere
Iris has feli mone alas tego Sui ne ora nodo Horti ore venas Machina Maro : Praes heri dando ad MACto ure na morO, ure
offas sol da pede agri as ani in Monster Orco nautis——
A plagosum puppis hos de lite isto Dis turba manat his studÿs. I ne veram qui et forum. I caeno more. Adi eu
Almi fami lis at ure cervice

Ll. 73-4. For. 32. 13-14 : Micat haedera lis at ure cervice servi sto prae ac hi nat ani time.
Ll. 75. For. 190. 19 : Prami cervi ceto ure Laedi an dure fire si de.
Ll. 76-7. For. 190. 21-22 : Pax tecum alas a fini calco sine omine, at rubo calles it. Cf. For. 189. 14 : Pax tecum.
L. 80. For. 37. 21 : [I]rritamento it.
Ll. 81-2. [Interlined.] For. 106. 20 : Itis ala folli, beas uredo fit.
L. 83. [Interlined.] For. 36. 13-16 : E veri far mero minis a rogor at hi e fas it hinc. Fel imo ne alis an ebur : has an ax e reddito hac orto fel orto humi fine fur tres.
L. 85. Cf. For. 105. 13 : Puta Macto his ne mi des ire. For. 197. 4 : Macto mas is cum.
L. 86. For. 40. 4 : A plagosum Puppis, I ne veram qui et forum. Cf. For. 222. 12 : Canine ver beat qui et forum.

The foresight and practice that went into the composition of this Latino-Anglicus letter to Dr. Sheridan are shown by the way Swift carefully worked it up from preliminary drafts. That Swift twice endorsed it, and kept a copy, is proof that it was, in his considered judgement, worth preserving. As the letter makes clear, by 1735 Swift could say, in prose or verse, almost anything he wanted in Latino-Anglicus. Therefore he must be taken seriously when he says, in a letter of 25 September 1735, to Lord Orrery, that to write in Anglo-Latin—and especially in

Latino-Anglicus, as his example makes clear—had become second nature to him.

> He [Sheridan] writes me English Latinized, and Latin Englyshed, but neither of them equal to mine, as my very enemies allow. It is true indeed, I am gone so far in this science that I can hardly write common English, I am so apt to mingle it with Latin. For instance, instead of writing my enemies I was going to spell it mi en emis. . . .
>
> (*Corresp.*, vol. v, p. 239.)

Although it is also something more than that, the letter is on one level a very clever exercise in Latino-Anglicus, and it displays the range of subject matter, the varied tone, and the flexibility of expression that Swift commanded in that dialect. Here Swift managed to reassure Sheridan about the attitude of his Whig enemies, offered him sage (and unheeded) advice about his personal and political conduct, amused him with some satires in verse, told him a gossipy little anecdote, extended to him several generous invitations, and finally, with the special kind of raillery he reserved for Sheridan, teased him about his Irish ancestry.

Swift was so much the master of words that he did not forget matters of style even when writing in Latino-Anglicus. The teasing in the postscript, for instance, is an example of true raillery, an art at which Swift was as great a master as he was of irony. Raillery is only irony turned inside out, apparent blame that changes all to sudden praise, at the " turn ". Swift's delayed discovery of this technique was a crucial turning-point in the course of his artistic development. It was a resolution which allowed him to conserve his instinctive tendency to turn all to satire and ridicule and harmonize it with his equally strong desire to write praise and sincere panegyric when they were deserved. The interesting thing here is that Swift was also able to employ his talent in Latino-Anglicus.

The blaming part of this raillery began by serving the first of its two purposes, that of letting the recipient know what the world, or Swift, thought of his characteristically petty and human foibles. In this case, they were the rumours about Sheridan that came to Swift's attention: " I hear you deny your nativity; it is said you're ashamed of it " (l. 81). Then

Swift went on with what sounds like more abuse: "You're as mere Irish as Phelim O'Neill, as 'Teague' O'Swiney or an O'Dogherty . . ." (ll. 82-3). By way of added insult, Swift wrote above the line, and as an afterthought, ". . . or even as Mac Namara", a reference to a famous Dublin swordsman mentioned by the younger Sheridan in his *Life of Swift*.[1] In conclusion, Swift once more advised Sheridan not to make of himself what he was not, but rather to be proud of being what he was. And with this exhortation came the "turn" to sudden praise: "Pray Sheridan do add Mac to your name, or O; you're of as old a pedigree as any in Munster or Connaught is" (ll. 84-5).

The account of the neighbouring squire, "a covetous 'hunks' at a penny", and a seducer of women, begins as an anecdote and concludes with a moral, and it demonstrates the variety of tone and the flexibility of expression that Swift commanded. The squire was probably a real person, perhaps some political enemy like Sir Thomas Prendergast, whom Swift called "a vile Seducer" in his poem, *The Legion Club* (1736), or one of the Wynne family, "the Hunks" of the same poem (*Poems*, vol. iii, pp. 831, 836). Or he may be one of the squireens with whom Swift was forced to deal, earlier in 1735, and whom he more than once compared to crows watching over a carcass.[2] The person was probably known to Sheridan, and the moral indignation with which Swift concluded his account of the squire's lewdness was not without a glance in Sheridan's direction: "I think it is a sin as enormous as murdering at night, or as high treason in a minister o' state" (ll. 68-9).

But the story was also the working out of a wit exercise suggested by Sheridan himself, in the final paragraph in Anglo-Angli, of a letter of 5 July 1735 (*Corresp.*, vol. v, pp. 200-1). There Sheridan gave an account of the "stow eye call" squires and "in sup port able" parsons at Cavan. He concluded a dialogue with one of the latter by a play upon the word *Rum*, cant in Ireland for a rustic clergyman: "Ho! Rum! Hah! Rum! Ho! Rum! say die." Swift picked up the words as the Latin genitives plural, and noted them down (Forster, No.

[1] 1784, p. 420.

[2] *Corresp.*, vol., v, pp. 130, 135, 160.

530, p. 189) as " (Articles hic hae &c) " ; in the same place he worked them up as parts of this anecdote, and finally, as here, managed to include in the story most of the forms of the Latin pronoun, a wit exercise of some ingenuity.

Swift never lost sight of the fact that a letter in Latino-Anglicus was meant to be fun, and he also managed to include a couple of the proverbial clichés that were later employed in *Polite Conversation*, as well as several puns. In other portions of this letter, however, Swift was very conscious that he was writing, as he said, in a " high style " " a letter of as high a strain as ever I endited a-fore " (ll. 3-4).

In a letter of 3 September 1735, Swift wrote to Alexander Pope, " You advise me right, not to trouble myself about the world ; but oppression tortures me . . . " (*Corresp.*, vol. v, p. 227). In this Latino-Anglicus letter to Sheridan Swift expressed some of his growing detachment about the evils of the world, but here he also—in his political verses, and in the prose comparison between apes and men—expressed some of the bitterness that oppression was working in him, and that he was soon to pour out in his poem, *The Legion Club*. Indirectly, the serious matters that Swift touched upon in this letter have relation to some passages in *A Tale of a Tub* and *Gulliver's Travels*, works which Swift had only recently been correcting for Faulkner's new Dublin edition of 1735. More directly, I believe they have a bearing upon the state of mind that led to the composition of *The Legion Club*, the last and the most terrible of Swift's political satires in verse.

The Honourable Richard Tighe, the Privy Councillor, M.P., and ardent Whig, who is satirized in the first of two poems and in some of the prose, had come to stand, in Swift's mind, for the worst of the " oppression " that tortured him and which public apathy tolerated. Tighe earned Swift's attention by signing the proclamation against the Drapier in 1724. In August, 1725, when Sheridan committed the worst of his practical blunders by thoughtlessly preaching a sermon upon the text " Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof " on the anniversary of the Hanoverian succession, it was Tighe who exposed Sheridan to Lord Carteret's reluctant wrath. From that moment Tighe became

the common political enemy of Swift and Sheridan. Privately, they abused him in all the Anglo-Latin languages, usually, as here, by the Latin word for his nickname, " Dic ". Publicly, he was attacked in English, usually as " Dick ". In 1728, for example, Swift compared him to a coxcomb, a vermin, and an ape, in such poems as " Tom Mullinex and Dick ", " Dick, *A Maggot* ", and " Dick's Variety ". In " *Tim* and the *Fables* " he was made to compare himself with a stinking monkey (*Poems*, vol. iii, pp. 782-9). In this letter he is compared to an ape with " more malice ", to a nauseating swine, and to a stinking drain (ll. 29, 34-5, 39-40).

In his letter of 15 July Sheridan had abused Tighe even more violently. But for Swift, the game was wearing a little thin : " And your quarrelling at ' Dick ' forever as you do is very silly " (ll. 15-16). But not from any sudden love for Tighe ! For Swift attacked him once more in *The Legion Club*, along with another " Dick ", Serjeant Richard Bettesworth, and they were lampooned as " The Puppy Pair of *Dicks; . . . Dick Fitz-Baker, Dick* the Player " (*Poems*, vol. iii, p. 835). Rather, Swift was convinced that only such violent and offensive public assaults as *The Legion Club* would overcome the dullness of public apathy, and penetrate the entrenched complacency of their Whig enemies. Swift was becoming bored by the futility of Sheridan's private attacks upon Tighe in Latino-Anglicus, and scornful of his ineffective and more timid public utterances. With something like despair, in fact almost physical discomfort, Swift realized that much more terrible methods were required, and that such public annoyance as Sheridan was able to cause his Whig enemies was no more regarded than the sting of a gnat.

Yet Swift was sympathetic and a little amused by Sheridan's egotistic concern lest, when he came to Dublin, he should fall the victim of his political enemies.[1] Not without some humour Swift wrote to reassure Sheridan by quoting a proverbial saying that was later used in *Polite Conversation:* " By my heart, you

[1] *Corresp.*, vol. v, p. 208. See the passage beginning " Irritato ripam flet an Dicti toral e ver ibit ", " I writ a Tory pamphlet and Dick Tighe tore all, every bit ".

are as safe as a thief in a mill" (l. 9).[1] Since this might be cold comfort to Sheridan, Swift softened and repeated his advice once more at the end of the letter, punning as he did so upon his own favourite malediction, "A Pox take 'um!": "As to your enemies, a *Pax tecum* all as a finical cousin o' mine, a true beau, calls it" (ll. 76-7). The third little poem (ll. 44-5) contained wise political advice that was rhymed to drive it home:

> No remedy certain, in vain is resistance,
> My advice is forever to be at a distance.

Swift appears to have taken his own advice. When the Irish Parliament—"the Club", as Swift called it—was to meet at Dublin in the fall of 1735, the mere proximity of such a parcel of "rascals" induced in Swift what amounted to the actual physical nausea associated with smells. In late September, for example, he wrote to Lord Orrery, "And do you think I will keep company with you, my Lord, when you come out just reeking from that abominable Club . . ."; and to Sheridan he wrote, "The Club meets in a week, and I determine to leave the town as soon as possible, for I am not able to live within the air of such rascals . . ." (*Corresp.*, vol. v, p. 240). It is not surprising, then, to find that Tighe, in this letter, was compared to an ape, to a revolting swine, and to a stinking drain, and that *The Legion Club*, when it appeared, was pervaded by images of odours, as well as being full of unflattering comparisons of the Members to various animals, including "Monkeys" (l. 82).

The image of an ape imitating a man, or of a man imitating an ape, an idea that is twice emphasized in this letter to Sheridan, plays an important part in Swift's later satire. Often, as it was used in the poems of 1728, against Tighe, it is associated with smells, and, as twice employed in *Gulliver's Travels*, with physical nausea. Gulliver wryly told of an episode in Brobdingnag when a monkey had imitated human actions by seizing

[1] T. Scott, *Prose Works*, vol. xi, p. 247: "you'll be as safe as a thief in a mill." This saying was probably based upon the assumption that the only things in a mill that a thief can steal are millstones. Apparently by way of refuting the truth of this same saying, Sheridan gave a humorous account of the theft of a pair of millstones from a mill two miles from Quilca. *Corresp.*, vol. v, p. 394.

him, carrying him to a roof-top, and there, in a ridiculous imitation of the actions of a human mother, had crammed the tiny Gulliver's mouth with some noxious substance. The Yahoos of Houyhnhnmland had first greeted Gulliver with a torrent of nauseating filth, and he, in turn, continually described them as " odious " beasts, as men who imitated monkies and apes.

It seems to me very likely that in early 1735, when Swift was handling *Gulliver* for Faulkner's new edition, he was struck anew by the force of the double-barrelled proposition that (as Swift here wrote it) " An ape imitates a man. A man copies an ape " (ll. 26, 39-41). It is significant that, together with a version of the poem comparing Tighe to a swine and some other prose satire in Latino-Anglicus, Swift first jotted down a draft of this notion on the same page of Forster MS. No. 530 (p. 205) as a sentence in English destined for " A Letter from Capt. Gulliver to his Cousin Sympson ", first prefixed to *Gulliver* in Faulkner's edition of 1735.[1] It is clear that Swift meant the comparison to be understood in a political context. He applied it, in this Latino-Anglicus letter, to " Dick " Tighe ; he repeated it in a letter of 12 May 1735, to William Pulteney : " The folks here, whom they call a Parliament, will imitate yours in everything, after the manner of a monkey doth a human creature " (*Corresp.*, vol. v, p. 178). That some of Swift's political enemies were also bishops is suggested by his use of the word " Episcopi " (l. 25) here, which he first wrote " Episcopis " by mistake.

Another correction in this letter points up Swift's growing detachment—spiritual as well as physical—from the oppression in human affairs that so tormented him. By way of summation Swift first copied out a sentence about apes and men much as it is written in the first draft in Forster MS. No. 530 (p. 205) : " Thus is every man as his nature operates." But Swift changed this to read : " Thus do all you men just as nature operates " (l. 28), detaching himself from the indictment.

Very early in the letter Swift stated his determination to detach himself by writing " I care not a penny for any State affairs " (ll. 17-18). From this disclaimer Swift passed to

[1] Noted by Sir Harold Williams in *TLS* for 10 January 1929, p. 28, and in *The Text of " Gulliver's Travels "* (1952), p. 49.

answering Sheridan's boastings, in his letter of 15 July, about the roasted quail and the fat buck he had recently enjoyed eating.[1] In reply, Swift began with a pun upon Sheridan's food, and his interest in " bulls " : " It is a tale of a cock and a bull as I take it . . . " Swift wrote (ll. 19-20). And then he added, with an allusion to the title of his own early work, " . . . or a tale of a tub as some deem it ; indeed it is " (ll. 20-1).

In his letter Sheridan had also sent Swift an account of the triumphant martial exploits of Louis XV.[2] In reply, Swift went on, without a break, to answer this foreign intelligence, and to say once more how detached he was about such momentous affairs : " Triumph as long as you think fit, news is a trifle to me : if Louis be a conqueror or no, it is indifferent to my felicity " (ll. 21-3). The first draft of this sentence is to be found in Forster, No. 530 (p. 183). Just above it is a different version that Swift did not choose to use in this letter to Sheridan : " I gaze at ure fora in in teli gens. Letum fit e ito ut, beat orbe beat en formis hare. It is no tingat alto me. It is no en cur age mento vir tu e ", " I gaze at your foreign intelligence. Let 'um fight it out, *beat or be beaten* for my share. It is nothing at all to me. It is no encouragement to virtue." The italicized phrase echoes almost exactly what Swift had written, long before, in *A Tale of a Tub*, about another Louis of France who played the conquering hero. There Swift had referred to Louis XIV as an example of a man in whom the vapours, by chance ascending, had produced mighty actions for the most trivial reasons : " The other Instance is, what I have read somewhere, in a very antient Author, of a mighty King, who for the space of thirty Years, amused Himself to take and lose Towns ; *beat Armies, and be beaten*. . . ."

A Tale of a Tub, like *Gulliver*, had recently been in Swift's hands and was still fresh in his mind when he began to compose his Latin-Anglicus letter of reply to Sheridan. This echo from

[1] Sheridan wrote, " I generali eat a quale carbone dedat super ", " I generally eat a quail carboned at supper ", and " As unde I eat offa buccas fatas mi arsis ". *Corresp.*, vol. v, p. 208.

[2] " Luis is mus ter in an armi an de sines carri in it as far as I tali, sum se germani ", " Louis [XV] is musterin' an army and designs carryin' it as far as Italy, some say Germany ". *Corresp.*, vol., p. 208.

" A Digression on Madness ", with the allusion to *A Tale of a Tub*,[1] and referring to similar warlike oppressions of yet another Louis of France, cannot have been lost upon Swift. He must have been struck by the consistency of his own views, and by the way in which history seemed to be repeating itself. Whether the conqueror was Louis XIV or Louis XV, Swift continued to believe that such mighty actions were motivated by accidental causes. In addition, the triumphs of Louis XV only brought more oppression. They were, indeed, no encouragement to virtue, mere trifles to the felicity of Swift, striving to be the detached observer he described in this Latino-Anglicus letter of 1735 to Dr. Sheridan.

[1] *A Tale of a Tub*, p. 165. Cf. p. lxx where there is a description of the corrected and inscribed copy of *A Tale* which Swift presented to Mrs. Whiteway on her birthday, 29 May 1735.

SOME HOUSEHOLD ORDINANCES OF HENRY VI

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THE ordinances printed below are provisions, hitherto unpublished, for regulating the household of Henry VI. The sole copy of them which appears to have survived is to be found in a manuscript in the British Museum, Lansdowne MS. 1, fols. 86a-93b. This manuscript is part of the Burghley Papers, having "descended from Sir Michael Hickes, Lord Burghley's secretary, to his great-grandson Sir William Hickes, who about 1682 sold them to Richard Chiswell, a stationer in London, who again disposed of them to the reverend John Strype, vicar of Low Leighton in Essex. On Strype's decease his representatives sold them to Mr. James West - - -. After Mr. West's death, they came into the possession of Lord Lansdowne."[1]

For both political and financial reasons Lord Burghley was interested in the good order of the royal household;[2] and among the items of Lansdowne MS. 1 said to be written in his hand is No. 62 (fols. 197a-201b), which is a hastily scribbled copy of notes of orders for the royal household in the time of Henry III, Edward III, Henry IV, Edward IV, Henry VIII, with the names of various officials of the court in the reigns of these kings.[3] It seems likely that Lord Burghley was responsible for the incompatible headings: "Amongst the peticions offered in parlement in the XXIIIth. yere of K. Henry the sixt is found as followeth" and "Prouisions made for the kynges houshold. 1458". It does not appear probable that the ordinances date

[1] *A Catalogue of the Lansdowne Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1819), p. ix.

[2] In the "Ten precepts which William, Lord Burghley, gave to his second son Sir Robert Cecil", Book II estimates Queen Elizabeth's annual expenditure, and Part 2 of this book lists the offices, salaries, fees, and perquisites of her household. (F. Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, i (London, 1779), 58-61.)

[3] The text of the ordinances of Henry VI is in a fair secretary hand, and may have been copied by an amanuensis.

from 1458, for no parliament was held in that year, and there is no mention of Prince Edward, for whom provision was made in the ordinances of 1454.[1] Moreover, the situation had deteriorated too much by 1458 for the Lancastrian government to have either the authority or the leisure to make ordinances for the reform of the household. In the twenty-third year of Henry VI, on the other hand, a Parliament assembled on 25 February 1445, and Prince Edward was not yet born. In the lists of authorized household staff at the end of the ordinances provision is made for the attendants of a queen, and the newly-wedded Queen Margaret arrived in England in April 1455. Revenues of nearly £6,700 were assigned to her in the Parliament of this year;[2] her coming must have increased the need for economy in the royal household and the desirability of new ordinances to promote this object.

For by 1445 the financial position of the Crown was already very grave. The position had been very serious as long ago as 1433 as the statement of the treasurer, Lord Cromwell, to Parliament had strikingly shown.[3] The normal revenue had suffered a further heavy fall during the minority, owing in part to the corruption and incompetence of the council and the growing strain of the French war; and the increasing inability of the government to pay its way was reflected in a large and mounting debt—from £168,000 in 1433 to £372,000 in 1449.[4] This in turn made it more difficult to raise loans and drove up the rate of interest which had to be paid for them—to between 25 and 33⅓ per cent., according to Sir John Fortescue.[5] The deepening financial insolvency and confusion was reflected in

[1] *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England*, ed. N. H. Nicholas, vi (London, 1837), 233.

[2] She was later able to dispose of a larger revenue than this. In the only account of hers still preserved in the Public Record Office (D.L.28/5/8) her total income for the year 31-2 Henry VI amounted to £7,563 12*s.* 0*d.* Perhaps this increase was due at least in part, to her share in the spoils from the estate of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, in 1447. (*Rotuli Parliamentorum* v. 133-5.)

[3] *Rot. Parl.* iv. 433-8.

[4] Ibid. iv. 43, 463.

[5] Sir John Fortescue, *The Governance of England* (ed. C. Plummer, Oxford, 1885), p. 118; K. B. McFarlane, "Loans to the Lancastrian Kings: The Problem of Inducement" in *Cambridge Historical Journal* (1947), pp. 51-68.

the increasing debts of the household, which added to the growing dissatisfaction in the country against the government. For the reign of Henry V[1] and the early years of Henry VI[2] it could be pleaded that the household had helped to finance the war; but the fact remains that by 1432 fifteen accountants of the household were having to ask in a parliamentary petition for pardon for arrears of accounts as far back as the beginning of the reign[3] and by 1433 the debts of the household totalled approximately £11,000.[4] And as the burden of the French war on the household was lightened, the position grew, not better, but worse. In 1433 the expenses of the household had been estimated about £13,000; by 1449 they were reckoned at £24,000, as against a total basic royal revenue (lyvelode) of only £5,000.[5] By 1449 the serjeants, gentlemen, yeomen, priests, and clerks of the household were forced to petition Parliament for arrears of wages, overdue by several years and amounting to £3,800.[6]

Attempts were made to remedy this position. Assignments of specified items of revenue were repeatedly made for the expenses of the household,[7] as had been done in the days of Henry IV;[8] but as these items had often been allocated already to other purposes or granted away to other persons, this device did not solve the problem of chronic deficits.[9] As in the reign

[1] Cf. the summary of Miss Eileen de L. Fagan's M.A. thesis entitled "Some Aspects of the King's Household in the Reign of Henry V" in *Bull. of Inst. of Hist. Research*, xiv (1937), 194-5; T. F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England*, iv (Manchester, 1928), 225.

[2] The household accounts of the earlier years of Henry VI deal with amounts far higher than those for his later years, and it is clear that much, if not all, of these extra sums were for war expenditure. In the accounts of John Hotoft for 8-9 Henry VI and of John Tirrell for 9-15 Henry VI they are described as "custos garderobe hospicij regis nunc Henrici Sexti ac thesaurarij guerre eiusdem regis" (E101/408/9, 13).

[3] *Rot. Parl.* iv. 397.

[4] Ibid. iv. 436.

[5] Ibid. iv. 435, 463.

[6] Ibid. v. 157-9.

[7] E.g. ibid. iv. 7, 32, 62, 474; v. 7, 58, 63, 70-2, 174-6, 183-99, 217-24, 229, 246-7, 293, 300, 320-1.

[8] E.g. ibid. iii. 528, 548, 579, 586.

[9] Only a minority of the household accounts are now available, and of these only the smaller part is complete; but where a balance can be struck, the result is either a plain excess of expenditure over receipts (e.g. in the account book of

of Henry IV, the weakness of the monarchy and the widespread discontent with the management of the royal household resulted in repeated demands for its reform. In 1442 the king granted a petition of the commons in parliament that " as many of your Lordes as it pleasith your Highnesse, to have suffisaunt power and auctorite to se establish, apoynte and ordeign, that good and sadde ruele be hadde in and of your seid Household, and that redy paiement in hand be hadde for the dispences of the same Household, in the fourme above said ".[1] Perhaps it was partly as a result of this commission's labours that detailed ordinances for the reform of the household were introduced in Parliament in 1445 and apparently received the royal assent.[2]

In many ways the character of the ordinances resembles that of the household ordinances of both past and future reigns—for example, of Edward II or of Edward IV and Henry VIII.[3] There are many detailed provisions designed to prevent waste and peculation ; some of these recur in the ordinances of 1478.[4]

Sir John Stourton, keeper of the wardrobe for 30-1 Henry VI the total receipts are £13,248 13*s.* 2*d.* against total expenses of £15,976 3*s.* 0*d.* ; E101/410/9) or a small credit balance, achieved only with the help of subventions from the queen's income (e.g. the account of William Fallan, keeper of the wardrobe, for the period 3 December, 33 Henry VI, to 11 May, 34 Henry VI, shows a credit balance of just over £1,273, but the queen's receiver had contributed £3,668 ; E 101/410/15).

[1] *Rot. Parl.* v. 63.

[2] It is true that no royal assent is recorded ; but in two places in the manuscript (fols. 88*a*, 90*a*) the royal sign manual, R H, appears.

[3] The Household Ordinances of Edward II, 1318 and 1323, in T. F. Tout, *The Place of the Reign of Edward II in English History* (2nd ed., Manchester, 1936), pp. 244-84 ; The Ordinances of 1478, edited by the present writer and to be published in a volume of the Camden Series by the Royal Historical Society ; The Ordinances of Eltham, 1526, in *A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household made in divers reigns from King Edward III to King William and Queen Mary* (Society of Antiquaries, 1790), pp. 137-207.

[4] Such provisions as (*a*) That the ushers of the hall are to keep out of the hall at meal times all men except those who have a right and duty there and except such strangers as they think will be for the king's advantage. (A similar rule is to be found in the Ordinances of York of 1318 (Tout, *Edward II*, p. 275).) (*b*) That no horses are to be maintained within the king's gates but the king's own, and (*c*) That no lord, knight, squire, court official, or any other person was to have any carriage at the royal expense of their unauthorized private goods.

There are regulations for financial supervision; and orders for such a purpose are a common feature of household ordinances.[1] The ordinances end with lists of permitted personnel and their proper allowances; and such provisions can be found in rules for the government of the royal household from the twelfth century to the seventeenth.

But if these ordinances of Henry VI have a family likeness to household regulations of other generations, there are also significant differences. We are given a glimpse of the weak kindliness of Henry VI in the concession that all the king's squires and officials who were not on the establishment should have the right to come to the king's court at the five principal feasts of the year, during sessions of parliament and great councils, or even at the "coming of strangers", if they could persuade one of the chief officials of the household to authorize it.[2] The royal improvidence necessitated a provision that if the king should order any additional charges for his household, he should also find the money for them, and that if any privy seal or other warrant were directed to the officers of the household, telling them to undertake any charge not allowed by the establishment, they should disregard such a warrant.[3] We are reminded of a very injurious feature of the government of Henry VI when we read that no lord, knight, nor squire, nor any other person, was to try to persuade the king or any household official to find a household post for a friend or dependent, to the overburdening of the establishment of the household and the prejudice of its good order, until the proposed appointment had been considered by the counting-house.[4]

If this ordinance was ever effective, it did not remain so for long. In 1453 the king's first attack of madness began, and in consequence a Great Council was held in 1454. One of its measures was to cut down the size of the royal household to 424 officials and servants for the king, 120 for the queen, and 38 for the prince; nevertheless the numbers remained greater

[1] E.g. dealing with the perennial question of abuse of purveyance, against which the Commons petitioned in this same Parliament (*Rot. Parl.* v. 103).

[2] See below, p. 458. [3] See below, pp. 458–9.

[4] See below, p. 457.

than were contemplated by the ordinances of 1445.[1] The Council composed a preamble to the ordinances of 1454 and gave as one of their chief reasons for making them that the king had before his illness been fully determined to reform his household and to set up and establish therein such rules to be observed, both in number of persons, and otherwise, as had been used " of olde tyme " ;[2] if true, this would show that even before 1453 the king had become dissatisfied with the adequacy of the ordinances of 1445.

But as the king recovered his wits about Christmas, 1454, the ordinance of that year probably remained effective for a far briefer span than its predecessor. In July 1455, the chancellor, Archbishop Bourchier, in revealing to Parliament the reasons for its summons, declared that the first cause was " to establish an ordinate and a substantiall rule for the Kynges honourable Household, and to ordeigne where redy paiement shall growe for th' expenses of the same ". A committee of lords was therefore appointed to consider its management ;[3] but if it suggested any remedies, they were unsuccessful, for soon afterwards we find a chronicler complaining that the king was still in debt although he " helde no householde ne meyntened no warres ".[4] By this time the Lancastrian government was too weak and too preoccupied with the struggles which were shortly to lead to its downfall to have time and energy to spare for household reform.

That very important task—to combine the efficiency necessary for financial solvency with the magnificence essential for political prestige—could not be successfully tackled until the monarchy had regained its strength. Under the Yorkists, and

[1] Ascribed by the Society of Antiquaries' edition of 1790 (Household Ordinances, pp. *15-*24) to the year 1455, this ordinance was correctly dated by Sir N. H. Nicolas and more accurately printed in *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, vi (Record Commission, 1837), 220-33. The household of the king remained about the same in size in 1454 as it had been in 1445 ; but the queen's household was doubled by 1454, and the prince's staff was, of course, additional.

[2] Ibid. vi. 220. [3] *Rot. Parl.* v. 279.

[4] *An English Chronicle, 1377-1461*, ed. J. S. Davies (Camden Society, 1st ser., 1856), p. 79.

especially after 1471, there began the revival of the importance of the royal household in the administration of the realm, an importance which was to reach its height in the days of the early Tudor.[1] In and after 1445 the government of Henry VI was too weak and impecunious for the ordinances then made to be effective; but they are nevertheless of interest for the history of the great age of household administration which was to follow. They had evidently not been forgotten in Yorkist days, and some of their provisions were incorporated in Edward IV's ordinances of 1478. By his reign, as the Black Book of the Household of Edward IV shows, the counting-house was clearly established as the controlling authority of the household in accounting, an authority which it was to retain for centuries to come,[2] and the greatest officials of the household were already, as they were always thereafter to remain, the steward and the chamberlain. This is a striking contrast to the ascendancy of the wardrobe as the accounting authority in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and the importance of the keeper and controller of the wardrobe in those centuries. In the ordinances of 1445 the counting-house is plainly the financial superior and auditor of the household accountants; and its managing personnel, consisting of steward, treasurer, controller, and cofferer of the household, two clerks of the accounts, and clerk controller, is already that of Yorkist days.[3] This transformation had started as long ago as the reign of Richard II; but the first household regulations to show the newer pattern as clearly established are the ordinances of 1445.

[1] The importance of the household in early Tudor days, outlined by A. P. Newton's "Tudor Reforms in the Royal Household" in *Tudor Studies presented to A. F. Pollard*, ed. R. W. Seton-Watson (London, 1924), pp. 231-56, has recently been demonstrated in much greater detail by W. C. Richardson's *Tudor Chamber Administration, 1485-1547* (Univ. of Louisiana Press, 1952) and G. R. Elton's *The Tudor Revolution in Government* (C.U.P., 1953).

[2] Newton, op. cit., p. 247, n. 42, and the preface to the P.R.O. manuscript catalogue, "Summary of the Records of the Lord Steward (Board of Greencloth)".

[3] Cf. below, pp. 456-9, 462, and *Household Ordinances*, pp. 65-8 *et passim*.

LANSDOWNE MS. I

Document No. 37

f. 86a Amongst the peticions offered in Parlement in the xxiiith yere of K. Henry the Sixt is found as followeth.

Prouisions made for the kynges houshold. 1458[sic].

First, that al the lordes, knyghtys, squiers and other yeue into the countynghous the names of the nombre of her seruants after the appointement, and that they leue no men behinde hem for keepying of her chambre after there departinge fro courte and that they haue no dyners out of meles ayenst the old rule of courte.

Also, that the usshers of the chambre come dayly with her recordes to the countynghous of the expens of the kynges chambre, and that he that recordith sette his name in his recorde for this intent, that yf so be that they doo any excesse that it may be seen who is most wastfull. And whatsoeuer be fette for the kynge, that is to sey, in the offices of the pantrie, buterie, celer, picherhouse, spicerie, and chaunderie, or in any other office, that it be fette by the usshers and that they recorde it. And that they recorde no thing in her recordes but such as is spendid in the kynges chambre.

Also, that the officers of the wardrobe and of the vestiarie trusse noon other mannys harneys in ther offices undir colour of the kinges but the kynges owne.

Also, that the marshall of the halle suffre no lord ne other persone that haue men syttynge in the halle by appointment to haue mo sittinge therein but after the appointement. And that they dayly set no straunger in the haulle but suche as they thenken by there discrecions ben for the kynges worship. And that they come in there owne persones dayly to the countynghous with there recordes and that they sette nothing in her recordes but such as is spendid within the halle, and that they sette there names in ther recordes to the entent that it may be seen hoo doth best his deuer. And that they comaunde nothinge out of the halle to no man, but to straungers if any come to court out of melys and that in the absence of the soueraignes, and that it be set in her recordes, and that the ordre of sittynge in the halle be kept aftir the old custume.

Also, that the usshers of the halle kepe out of the halle dore all men at mele tymes but suche as shoulde come in of deute and strangers such as they thynken by there discrecions ben for the kynges worship. And yf eny be sette at mete without the marshall that they take hem up, and that they kepe the halle that no persone bere out noone almes.

f. 86b Also, that the offices of the panetrie, buterie, seller, and all other offices, bene kept that no man come not in hem, nouthir to mete ne soper ne at non othir tyme, but such as bene ordeyned therto. And that the officers of the seid penetrie, buterie, and seller deliuer to no man nether breade, ale, ne wyne by the comaundement of the usher of the chambre and marshall of the halle, but if it be to straungers out of mele tymes in the absence of souueraignes, and that noon of thise said officers deliuere neither breue upon no man more than they deliueren after the forme of appointement and that is truly spendid to the kynges worship. And that the butiller abrooche non ale into the tyme that it be seyne by the countrolloures clerke and the prise made.

Also, that the clerk of the spicerie deliuer nothinge that longeth unto his office unto no man but after the forme of appointement, and that he spend nothinge that longith to his purueance unto the tyme that the countrollour or oon of his clerkys haue seene yt and the prises, to wite whethir the prises bene resonable or noone.

Also, that the clerk of the cechyne and the maister cokes taken hede that ther be no waste do by them in there offices ne by noon othir undir hem, and that euery man of the seid office go to the halle at her meles but such as ben ordeyned the contrarie. And that the countrollour or on of his clerkys with the seid clerk of cechynne se that non of the seid officers haue no fees in ther offices but suche as haue bene of old tyme acustumed, and that noon of them take no mete out of the cechynne, neither for hem self ne for noon othir, but by deliueraunce by suche as haue the gouernaunce. Also, that the clerk of cechyne sette the nombir of messes both of the chambre, the halle, and the liueres dayly in the panetrie rolle, and the ussher of the cechynne suffre no mannys man ne other persone to come into the cechynne but such as ben of the office self.

Also, that the sergeantes of the squillerie, saucerie, and picherhouse diliuer no vesselle, pottes, ne cuppes to no man, but liuere vesselle to such as shuld haue of deute, as they shulden haue warnynge out of the countinghous.

Also, that the porters of the yate ne suffre no vessell, pottes, cuppes, torches, no botell of wyne passe the yate, ne fees of the/cechynne ne of the panetrie f. 87b
unserched; ne that they suffre no straung man come in at the yate, but such as they thenken by there discressions be for the kynges worship, and also pore men for to come in for hir paymentis at the kynges remeuinge. And also that they lette euery squier and sergeant haue in a man at the yate, and euery two yemen a man, and euery foure gromes of the chamber a child and no mo without speciall comaundement of the stuard by aduyse made in the countynghous; and that they comen dayly summe at oon mete summe at an othir into the halle to mete.

Also, that there be no hors logged withinne the kynges yates but the kynges owne, and that the soiourne be logged fro the kynges court v mile at the leste; and that there be no man kepe mo horse at the kynges cost then be appointed ne that noon othir officer haue no hors standing amonges the kynges.

Also, that no manner of man that longen to the kynges courte kepe neither children, dogges, ne ferettys withinne the kynges court, but aftir the forme of appointement.

Also, that no lord, knyghte, no squier, ne noon othir persone, labour neither to the kynge ne to the stiward ne to noon officer of the kynges for chargyng of non officer in non office unto the tyme that thappointement be seine in the countynghous, to the entent that no mo such inconuenient of excedinge of officers be not founde in the kynges house her after, and that it may be sene by good aduys what personnes shallen so come into office, there good rule and abylite.

Also, that no maner lord, knyghte, ne squier, ne noone othir persone, haue no cariage of the kynges carriage ne of the countre, but of her owne, ne that no maner of officer trusse no mannys harneys in ther offices among the kynges cariage but the kynges owne.

Also, that all the wyne the which is graunted as wel by the kynge our souueraigne lord that nowe is as by his noble progenitours to diuers houses of religioses in perpetuall almesse, and to diuers persones terme of there liues, and to diuers

officers by cause of there offices and the wages of the mwes [mews], with all
f. 87b such othir foreyne expenses, be sett in thaccompt of the tresorer of houshold in/ a parcell by it self, so that it may clerly appere what is expended withynne the houshold.

Also, that all purueiours and yemen of the stable lese her wages and her horsmete when they be out of court, but yf so be that they be in the kynges seruice, and that the auenar recorde yt truly in his dayly accompt; and that noon of hem ete in the halle dayly but such as be appointed.

Also, that the porter of the kinges chambre kepe the light and the wode that he fecchith for the kynges chambre, and that he yeue awey noon to no man; but yef any leue in his keepinge that it be kept and spendid to the kinges vse.

Also, that the aumener se that euery man haue his seruice, that is to sey, euery messe in the halle haue a lof, euery two messe a gallon of ale at mete, and euery iij messe a gallon of ale at soper, and euery iij messe of gentilmen dim'. pitcher of wyne, and euery v messe of yemen dim' pitcher of wyne at both meles, and that the gromes and chamberleyns haue none. And that he bring into the countynghouse a recorde of the seid seruice, and also of what rewardes the mareshall setith in the halle. And also that he se the pottys both of wyne and ale ben fylled as the mesure woll, and that he suffre no maner of man to giue awey his mete that should go to the kinges almesse.

Also, that all maner of the kynges squiers and surpluse of officers excedinge the nombre of appointemente mowen resorte to the kynges courte at the v festes of the yere, at parlamentes, grete counsell, or for comynge of straungers, and at othir tymes necessarie after the case requireth, by the discrecion of the stiward or of sume of the soueraignes of the kynges house.

Also, that the styward or on of the soueraignes seen that these persones that shullen go to her houses excedinge the nombre of appointment shullen be such personnes as hauen owthir fees or offices of the kinges yeft, and tho that shullen abide bene such as hauen lest or nought of the kynges yeft.

Also, that all the huntys that noon of hem be in court but euerith of hem
f. 88a aftir ther sesons, and as son as their sesons be do / that they go fro court. And as for the tyme that they be in court that her wages for bouch of court be rebatid in the certificate made by the tresorer of houshold by the aduyce of the controller of [sic] unto the priue seale for her warantes for her payment as the statutys of houshould wollen.

Also, that in all the places that the kynge resortith unto that ther be parker, kepers of beddys, gardiners, as such other foreine officers haue no liuere of the court ne bouche of courte but only the keepers of the placys. And in cas be that any such keepers be of the kynges hous and haue bouch of court, that they haue no such liuere.

Item, that all maner of prystes auaunced to the summe of xl li. be yer, euery squier hauinge xl li. yerly of the kynges yefte, and eche yeman that hath xx marc yerly of the kinges yefte, shullen haue no dayly wages in his chekerrolle.

Item, that no sergeant of the kinges house put into his office be his owne auctorie no page without the aduyce of the stuard or of oon of the soueraignes of the kynges house for the tyme beinge.

Item, if the kyng comande any owteward chargis into his household mo than ben appointed, that than hit shall plese him of his noble grace for to ordeyne

money for all such charges ; or ellis yf there be any priue seall or other warrant direct vnto the officers of the seid houshold comaundyng them with ony maner of chargis in the houshold ouir the appointemente, that than the said officers for the tyme beinge shullen haue auctorite by these present ordinance not for to obey hem.

Item, be it ordayned for the kynges profitte that all his grete horse ordayned for to be at soiourne nowe from hens forward soiourne to gidre yn a certayne place, to be limited after aduys and discrecion of the styward and tresorer of the houshould, and not in diuers places as it hath ben vsed before this tyme.

R.H. Prouisions which be semene necessarie for the kynges houshold.

First, that no payment be made in payment nor in taille by the tresorer or cofrer or clercks of the grene cloth but openly in the countynghouse beinge present the stuard or countroller.

Item, that euery quarter of the yere the stuard sitte in the countynghouse and se the estate of the houshold, that is to say, all that is owinge that / tyme, f. 88b to thentent that of such goode as there is in honde in money, taylles, or assignementis, payement maye be made to the creditours in the sergeantries be thauise and discrecion of the stuard and the officers.

Item, that none officer of the kynges house, of what estate or condicions that he be, nor officer's clercke nor seruant, from the hyest to the lowest, by him or any mesne persone to his behoue any taille, obligacion, or assignement of any creditour, vpon peyne of to be putte oute of his office and the kynges seruice for euer.

Item, that at euery yeres end the tresorer of the kynges houshold delyuer the names of all the creditours to whom any goode is oweinge in his office and the summes due vnto hem, and wherfore, to the stuard or the countrollour of the kynges house, to thentent that the kynge mowe yerly knowe his estate and by the auise of his consaille ordeine for contentinge of the same creditours.

Item, that all the purueours and acatours for the kynges housholde be made in the presence of the stuard, tresorer, and countrollour of the kynges houshold, and be thaire aduys ; and that such as shall be named or taken thereto be sobre and peisible men, and men of good sufficeance and power, such as wyll se that the purueance and acate to be made by thayme be duely made for the kynges worship and profite, and in such wyse that the grete clamour had afore tymes vpon purueances and acates made for the kynges household mowe cesse. And that such purueours be not chaunged withoute grete and notable cause, and that in the presence abousesaid, and that euery such purueoure and acatour afore his admyttinge to such office make his othe in manere and fourme folowinge : —That he shall truly, justely, and egally, withoute oppression of the poore or fauor of the riche, obserue and vse his commission and occupie his said office, to the most profite and behoue of the kyng and eschuyng of the hurt of his people, and yn especiall that he shall obserue and keepe thynges that folwene. That is to say, that he shall nothinge take vppon him to do be any depute in any place there as he shall make any achate or purueiance be force of his commission or office. And that he shall before thenne he any such achate or purueiance make or any good take of any persone, before the constable or other officer hauing

f. 89a rule or auctorite / there, and before the people there openly shewe and make to be redde his commission. And that neither for affection nor fauour of any persone ne for receyuinge of any reward or good, ne for hope to resceyue any good, he shall forbere to take yn due manere mesure for the kynges [sic] there as shall mowe take, ne for euyll wyll or hate of any persone, nor to thentent to hurte or to compelle any persone to doe any thynge to the assiethyng or to the fulfillinge of his owne or of any other persons pleisir, nor to auenge his owen or any other persons displeisir, take stufe or vitaille belonginge to his achate or purueiance of any of the kynges subiectes nor vndre colour of his office anythynges take to the behoue of himself or of any other persone, saue only of the kynge and his houshold. And that the prouision, swich as he shall make or take yn any manere of thinges, he shall withoute any sale thereof or chaungyng or applyinge to his owen or to any othir persones profite truly withoute fraude or male engyne or lessinge therof bryng hit or make it to be brought to the vse of the kynge and of his houshould, and make a treue and full certification thereof to the kynges countynghous by writyng, describinge clerly all the parcels of his achates and purueiaunces, and the pris, and the persones names that the said parcels be taken of.

Also, that all pardons to be graunted to any of the sergeantes of the kynges houshold for any thinge wherof they shall stand chargeable yn theire said offices be examined by the stuard and the hede officers of the kynges houshold before any suyte to be made therfore to the kyng, to thentent that the kyng mowe be clerely enformed of the causes which shulde moeue hym to graunte hem or not graunte hem. And yf any thynge be done in the contrarie hereof, that it be of non effect but stand for naughte and void and of none auaile.

Also, that the tresorer of Inglond for the tyme beinge first pay and preferre in payment the payment and contenting of thexpenses of the kynges household of the reuenues of the roialme as well as of wardes, mariages, voydance of byshopryckes, abbes, prioures, forfaitures, eschetes, and all other casuelties, commodities and profitz of the roialme afore any payment to be made to any other persone. Alwey forseyne that be the strength of this ordinauance or act no preiudice be done to the kynges justices of the oone benche nor of that other, nor to none other justice of assise, nor to the kynges seriantz of lawe, nor to his atourne in his courtez, nor to non acte or ordinaunce touchyng them made in the parliament
f. 89b holden / atte Westminster the xviij yere of the kyng our soueraigne lord that nowe is or to any other of the kynges justices, or to any graunte or assignement made to any persone afore this present parlement, nor that any persone be hurte nor preiudiced in any wise of his right, his freehold, his enheritance, office or fee, wages or rewardes, for his entendances to the kynges counseiles, nor of any other fee be the strength of this act or ordinance.

And if any officer abouesaid do the contrarie of the said article or any of hem, he to lese his office and to be putte out of the kynges hous foreuer.

ꝙ ꝯ

Vne duke	j chapellein iiij escuiers iij valetz	mangeant en le sale. ij liueres pur sa chambre	et pur là nuyt	ij pains j pitchere de vine ij gallons de seruoise

Le confessour du roy — j chapellein, j escuier, j vallet — mangeant en la sale. j liuere pur sa chambre — et pur la nuyt — j pain, j pitchere de vine, j gallon de seruoise

Chapelleins pur la roy — Oue le confessour et son chapellein soient deux auters chapelleins seculers assignez, et prendrent pur tout la nuyt demi pitcher de vine, j gallon de seruoise.

Le chamberlain del hostelle — toutz ces gentz mangeant en la sale, et liueres pur sa chambre se doyt bien gouerner pur doner as autres ensample de soy contenter de moderatz costagez en lostielle.

iiij cheualiers, keruers, et cupberers — chescun ne escuier et j vallet mangeant en la sale. j liuere pur sa chambre — et pur la nuyt — j pain, j pitcher de vine, j gallon de seruoise

Le secretarie — j escuier, ij clerkes — mangeant en la sale. j liuere pur sa chambre — et pur la nuyt — j pain, j pitcher de vin, j gallon de seruoise

iij phisiciens et surgeons

Lasmoigner — souz asmoigner, j vallet, ij clerkes pur garder lasmoigne — mangeant en la sale et pur la nuyt — j pain, demi pitcher de vine, j gallon de seruoise

Le dean de la chapell — j escuier mangeant en la sale, et j liuere pur sa chambre — et pur la nuyt — j pain, demi pitcher de vine, j gallon de seruoise

Les autres chapelleins de la chapell entre eux toutz a nuyt — j pain, j pitcher de vine, i gallon de seruoise — et soient chapelleins et clerks xx en nombre, enfantz pur la chapell vij, valletz du vestiaire ij.

Pur la chambre du roy soient assignez xij cheualiers dont soient vj overt les officers continuelment demurantz en la court, qe tantsoulement prendront liuere desquex — chescun auera un chambre mangeant en la sale ; pur la nuyt — j pain, demi pitcher de vine, j gallon de seruoise

f. 90b

Et sil ne soit as iours de festez, ne serront en la court plusours qe vj dez xij cheualiers susdictz

iiij escuiers pur la corps soient habergez ensemble, et preignent a nuyt . . . et sils soient autrement habergez, chescun preigne solonc lafferant — j pain, demi pitcher de vine, j gallon de seruoise

iiij vsshers pur la chambre, preignantz liueres come les escuiers pur le corps, desquex vshers soient deux en la court continuelment

j assewer et j surueour } preignent liuere come lez escuiers de la corps.

viij escuiers pur la chambre dont j assewer pur la chambre } et prendrent iiij pains, et iiij gallons de seruoise

iiij Herlaultz
iij messagers
ij valletz vsshers pur la chambre
xxiiij valletz pur la chambre, des queux soient xij continuelment en la court qe continuelment soient entendantz a la persone de nostre dit seigneur le roy quant il doit chiuacher
ij valletz pur les robes de queux lun pelter, j page, j grome
j vallet pur les lectes, ij gromes, j page
vj garcons pur la chambre, des queux j pur lez arcus
iij pages pur le chambre
vj henxmen pur le roy
xij memstrealx oue le gaite
j sergeant, j vallet, j grome pur larmorie
Le gardein dez mewes
v valletz fauconers, chescun a vjd., des queux vn contrebener
vj porteurs, chescun a ijd
xx faucons, chescun a jd
ij cheens, chescun a ob

f. 91a

Pur le Countynghous

Le seneschall, Tresorer, Counproller } toutz lour gentz mangeant en la sale, et liuerez pur lour chambre, se doient ben gouerner pur doner a autres ensample de soy contenter de moderatz costagez en lostiell

Le coffrere
ij clerckes dez accomptz
j clerk countrollour
j clerke de souz luy
j sergeant
j messager
j grome
j page

Pur la sale

j cheualier vssher
Le cheualier mareschall
Le cheualier herberciour
iij mareschalx
j sergeant vssher
ij assewers
ij surueours
xij escuiers pur la sale
iij valletz vsshers
iiij garcons
ij pagez

Pur ma dame la royne

Countesse { ij dauncelles / j chambrere / ij escuiers / ij valletz } mangeant en la salle, j liuere pur sa chambre { et pur la nuyt come pur un conte

Baronesse { ij dauncelles / j escuier / j chambrer / j vallet } mangeant en la salle, j liuere pur sa chambre { et pur la nuyt come pur un barone

ij dames, chescun { j dauncell / j vallet } { mangeant en la sale, et j liuere pur sa chambre } { en pur la nuyt come pur un bachilier } f. 91b

vj dauncelles pur ma dame le[sic] royne de lesqueles eiant trois chescun } j seruant mangeant en la sale sanz autre liuere

ij chambrers
ij lauenders

Le chamberleyn de la royne { j escuier / j vallet } { mangeant en la sale, j liuere pur sa chambre } { et pur la nuyt come pur un dez keruers

Chapelleins pur la royne { j confessor / j chapellein seculer / j clerk du closet } mangeant en la sale

Keruers et cupberers pur la royne . . . . . iij
Secretarie pur la royne . . . . . j
Vssher pur la royne . . . . . ij
Asshewers pur la royne et sa chambre . . . ij
Escuiers pur sa chambre . . . . . iiij
Mestre de chiualx . . . . . j et liuere come un dez escuiers pur la corps

Henxmen . . . . . ij
Vssher vallet . . . . . j
Valletz de la chambre . . . . . viij dont vn pur lez robez et j pur lez litez
Garcions pur la chambre . . . . . iiij dont vn pur lez robez et j pur les litez
Page pur la chambre . . . . . ij

Paneterie
- j sergeant
- iiij valletz
- iiij gromez
- ij pagez

92a

Wafrere
- ij wafreres
- j gromes

Le pistrine
- j sergeant
- ij valletz pistours
- ij valletz purueiours
- j clerk
- j vallet pur la bouch du roy
- iij boulters
- j gryndere
- ij pagez

Le seller et le botillerie
- j sergeant
- j vallet pur la royne
- ix valletz
- viij garceons
- iiij pages

Le spicerie
- j chief clerk
- iij valletz, dez queux soit vn clerc
- ij garceons
- ij pagez

f. 92b

La chaunderie
- j sergeant
- ij valletz
- iiij garcions
- ij pagez

La cusine
- j cheif clerk
- iiij sergeant pur la cusyne
- ij soubz clerces
- x valletz, dez queus ij pur le bouche du roy et j pur le bouch du royne
- viij garcons, dez queux j pur le bouche du roy et j pur le bouch du royne
- viij pagez, dez queux j pur le bouche du roy et j pur le royne

La larderie
- j sergeant
- iiij valletz
- j clerk
- iiij garceons
- iiij pagez

La caterie
- j sergeant
- iiij valletz
- j clerk
- iiij bouchours
- ij portours de la bocherie
- j pastour et son seruant
- j cariour dez pik

Fyshers
- j vallet
- j garcion

Fureters
- j vallet
- j garcion

La pultrie f. 93a
- j sergeant
- j clerk
- j vallet
- j garceon
- iiij purueours
- iij soutremen
- ij pagez

La squillerie
- vne sergeant
- iiij valletz
- v garceons
- iiij pagez
- iiij portones

La salcerie
- j sergeant
- j vallet
- j clerk
- iij garceons
- iij pagez

Napperie et eawerie
- j sergeant
- iij valletz
- iiij garceons
- ij pagez

Lauenders
- j vallet
- j garcion
- ij pagez

La porte
- j sergeant
- iiij valletz
- ij garceons
- j page

Herberiours
- j sergeant
- ij valletz
- j clerk

Scaldinghouse
- j vallet
- j garceon
- j page

Pur le stable du roy
- iiij dextrers
- vj bastardz
- xij coursours
- xij trotters
- viij palfreys

} pur le celler du roy

vj pur le chariot
xij pur somers pur le chambre

Pur lez chariotz . .	cxxvj	chiualx
pur le mestre dez chiualx .	. ij	chiualx
pur le aueigner . .	. ij	chiualx
pur le sergeant du cariage	. ij	chiualx
pur le ferour . . .	. ij	chiualx
pur ij clerk del aueignerie	. ij	chiualx
pur le garnere . .	. ij	chiualx
pur le vj purueours . .	. vj	chiualx
f. 93b pur iiij ferours . .	iiij	chiualx
pur vn palfrey et vn purueour	. ij	chiualx
pur vn seller . . .	. j	chivalx
pur vn wheller . . .	. j	chiuall

Someres
- pur le closet . . . . j
- pur le panetrie . . . j
- pur le seller et botillerie . . ij
- pur le spicerie et chaunderie . ij
- pur le larder . . . . j
- pur la squillerie . . . ij
- pur le saucerie . . . j
- pur lesmoignerie . . . j
- pur les liueres du roy . . ij
- pur le ferrour . . . ij
- pur le countinghous . . j
- pur lewerie et napperie . . ij

GLOSSARY

Abrooche = broach, pierce a cask

acates, achates = purchases, provisions, especially of meat and fish

afferant = assignment, allowance

arcus = bows

asmoigner = almoner

assewer = sewer, an attendant at the meal who superintended the arrangements of the table, especially the high table, and the tasting and serving of the dishes

aveigner = avener, supplier of oats or fodder

bastardz = cross-bred horses

bouch(e)of court = court rations, allowances

boulters = those who sifted out the bran from the flour

chevalier, herberciour = knight harbinger

cheens = chiens, dogs

chivacher = chevaucher, to ride

dextrer = destrier, charger, battle-steed

dauncelles = young ladies

escuier = squire

ferour = blacksmith, ironsmith

garceon, garcion = groom

gaite = guette, watch or wait

haberger = to lodge, accommodate

herberiours = harbingers

herlaultz = heralds

lauender = laundress, washerwoman

lectes, litez = beds

memstrealx = minstrels

pelter = skinner

pistrine = bakehouse

portones = porters

prystes = prests, advances of money, loans

rebatid = reduced, subtracted

seruoise = ceruoise, ale, barley-beer

soutremen = sumptermen, men who looked after pack-horses

someres = pack-horses

surueour = an officer of the royal household who superintended the preparation and serving of the food

valet, vallet = yeoman

vestiaire = vestiary, vestry

NOTES ON THE ILLUMINATIONS OF THE SPANISH HAGGADAH IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY[1]

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THE desire to approach absolute values has been the foundation of religious beliefs, Utopian endeavours and artistic creation. It has inspired religious art and influenced the illumination of Haggadoth, relating the Exodus from Egypt to a faith in perennial salvation. Philo, in his book *The Special Laws* (vol. ii, p. 148), says with regard to the Festival of the Passover " On this day every dwelling house is invested with the outward semblance and dignity of a temple ". This statement suggests the essence of the festival's ritual and the character of the medieval illuminated manuscripts describing it.

The Spanish Haggadoth, containing the ritual for Passover, are fairly numerous. Among them the John Rylands Library Haggadah is outstanding.[2] It contains preliminary liturgies,

[1] I wish to thank Professor E. Robertson, the Librarian of the John Rylands Library, for permission to study this manuscript. I also wish to thank Mr. P. R. Weis and Dr. M. Wallenstein for their advice with regard to the interpretation of the Hebrew text, Professor Wormald, Dr. S. A. Birnbaum and Dr. F. Taylor for valuable suggestions. Mr. J. Leveen of the British Museum put at my disposal Hebrew illuminated manuscripts, Professor Preisendanz manuscripts of the Heidelberg University Library, Mr. C. W. Dyson Perrins kindly allowed me to study the works in his possession, and the History of Art Department of the University of Manchester provided for the acquisition of photographs in connection with this study.

[2] Hebrew MSS. no. 6. Collation: i (paper) + 57 (vellum) + ii (paper), made up as follows: a^4, b^8-f^8, g^{10} (+ 1, fol. 55), h^2. The Haggadah proper occupies fols. 13-36^v, of which the miniatures are on fols. 13-19^v. Fols. 1-1^v, 5, 11-13 and 37 are blank. On the remaining folios are pyyutim: fols. 2-4^v, based on Exodus; 5^v-7^v, 'Azharoth, part of the 613 precepts, by Zarahyah Halevy; 8-10^v, the first night of the Passover; 37^v-41, the first day; 41-42^v, the second day; 43-48, Hol ha Mo'edh Pesah (the Passover week-day); 48-50^v, the seventh day by Jehuda Halevy; 51-53^v, the last day; 54-57^v, grace after the meal, with some blessings on wine.

The most important publication on the subject is still D. H. Müller and J. von Schlosser, *Die Haggadah von Sarajevo*, Vienna, 1898. Mr. D. J. R.

twelve full-page illustrations representing the Exodus, one page describing the preparations and celebration of the "Seder" meal, the liturgy of the Haggadah proper and further liturgical poems. There exists a striking resemblance to the manuscript Or. 1404 in the British Museum.

The subjects and general arrangement of the full-page illuminations are identical in the two manuscripts, their sequence being as follows: (It will be noted that Moses and Aaron are frequently almost indistinguishable, and have to be interpreted with reference to the Old Testament text.)

I. A. Moses keeping Jethro's flock; Moses before the burning bush.
   B. Moses with a rod turned into a serpent; the serpent turned into a rod.
II. A. Moses seen twice putting his hand into his bosom and taking it out infected and cured.
   B. Moses taking his wife and sons to Egypt; circumcision of his son.
III. A. Moses and Aaron meeting in the wilderness; Aaron speaking the words of the Lord.
   B. The signs in the sight of the people.
IV. A. Moses and Aaron before Pharaoh and sorcerers.
   B. Taskmaster and the children of Israel.
V. A. Pharaoh and sorcerers; the rod turned into serpents.
   B. Moses and Aaron before Pharaoh; the river turned into blood.
VI. A. The plague of frogs. (Here the narrative moves from left to right, contrary to the general arrangement, which follows the Hebrew custom, of moving from right to left. This is no doubt due to the unaltered taking over of a Christian model.)
   B. The plague of lice.
VII. A. The plague of flies. (Including serpents.)
   B. Moses and Aaron before Pharaoh; the cattle in a landscape, some dying from murrain.

Scott just returned from Sarayevo kindly informs me that the marginal decorations and the gold lettering are less conspicuous than in the Rylands Library Haggadah, and the colouring is less strong. It is unfortunate that no detailed information is available from the authorities of the Musée de la République Populaire, who, however, informed the writer that no decorated pages similar to those containing the Hymn "How great are the calls of the Almighty" exist in their Haggadah.

Useful references are found in G. Margoliouth, *Catalogue of Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London, 1905, pp. 197 ff., especially pp. 198-200 and B. Italiener, *Die Darmstaedter Pessach-Haggadah*, Leipzig, 1927. F. Landsberger's articles in the *Hebrew Union College Annual*, vol. xxi (1948), pp. 73 ff. and vol. xxiii (1950-1), pp. 503 ff. supplement the full bibliography found in J. Leveen's *The Hebrew Bible in Art*, London, 1944.

VIII. A. Pharaoh and followers; Moses and Aaron; boils on men and beasts.
B. The plague of hail, including a representation of Pharaoh losing his crown in anguish.
IX. A. The plague of locusts.
B. The plague of darkness.
X. A. The smiting of the first-born. (Much abbreviated in Or. 1404.)
B. The borrowing of jewels.
XI. A. The people take their dough, their kneading troughs on their shoulders.
B. The pursuit of Pharaoh and the Egyptians.
XII. The drowning of the Egyptians and the children of Israel walking through the sea.
XIII. A. The killing and roasting of the lamb. The painting of the lintel with hyssop.
B. Two families celebrating the Seder.

The style of the illuminations is familiar from Spanish manuscripts, although some of the formal elements in the decorated margins are unusual, as will be shown below.[1] The preliminary pages of illustrations are succeeded by the text of the Haggadah ritual which is richly illuminated by monumental lettering in blue, mauve, red and other colours and gold leaf, forming borders and panels, emphasizing important passages and the beginning of sections. In the Rylands Haggadah the representations of the "mazzah", the unleavened bread, in gold leaf and the "maror", the bitter herb, in a green stylised fleur-de-lys-like pattern are included in the text. Marginal figures are also related to the text, such as "the Wise Son", "the Wicked Son" and the seated figures of the Rabbis Jose, Eliezer and Akiba, as well as Gamaliel, the latter being especially singled out by a canopied seat, reminiscent of the Evangelists and scribes in Christian illumination. The marginal single figures belong therefore to a Jewish iconographic programme, although they are not integrated in the decorations and thus reminiscent of the full-page pictures which are kept separate from the text; the marginal drolleries (humorous figures) are executed in the ruling Gothic style of the period, without any particular reference to Jewish subject-matter.

[1] G. Warner, *Catalogue of the Illuminated Manuscripts in the Library of C. W. Dyson Perrins*, pp. 265 ff., Pl. xcviii, as well as J. Dominguez Bordona, *Spanish Illumination*, Florence, 1930, vol. ii, *passim*. Also E. E. S. Procter, *Alfonso X of Castile*, Oxford, 1951. On the background compare F. Baer, *Die Juden im Christlichen Spanien*, Berlin, 1929-36.

The great emphasis given to the Hymn "Kamah maalot towot"—"How great are the calls of the Almighty"—by its drolleries is unusual in the Rylands Haggadah and distinguishes it from other related manuscripts. The nearest parallels to the style of its drolleries are found in England, developing from the Rutland to the Gorleston Psalters. It is worth considering whether the Expulsion of the Jews from this country in 1290 may have exerted an influence on the spreading of the style of English illuminations, since the Jews were not only allowed to keep unredeemed pledges deposited by Christians but some remained in this country for some time; subsequently an English manuscript may easily have found its way into a Jewish-Spanish scriptorium.[1] It is worth noting that the illuminator seems not to have copied, but to have interpreted freely, the models he chose, a characteristic fact with regard to the quality of his work, which will also appear in other instances.

Special emphasis is given to the "Wicked Son", who is represented as a Moorish warrior, according to Müller an indication that the Haggadah of Sarayevo and the manuscripts connected with it are of Spanish origin. But the relations between Jews and Moslems were cordial and therefore no reason existed to represent the "Wicked Son" as being of a dark complexion. There exists, however, a Jewish literary tradition for portraying the "Wicked Son" as black, based on Genesis xxxvi, 7, and interpreted in Midrash Rabbah: "Your seed will be ugly and dark-skinned".[2]

The Spanish origin of the Rylands Haggadah explains not only the general style of its illumination but more specifically the Islamic influence which can be seen in the arrangement of the Hebrew lettering in decorative panels and borders. This

[1] Cf. C. Roth, *A History of the Jews in England*, 2nd edn., Oxford, 1949, pp. 68 ff. and A. M. Hyamson, *A History of the Jews in England*, 2nd edn., 1928, pp. 111 ff., especially p. 113. The fact that Jews are mentioned after the expulsion supports Mr. Hyamson's rather than Dr. Roth's view.

[2] Müller, op. cit. p. 96. Midrash Rabbah. Translated and edited by H. Freedman, vol. i, 1939. A friendly attitude is expressed by the attendance of a Moor, presumably a servant, at the Passover meal of the Haggadah of Sarayevo. Incidentally, no member partaking in the ritual is seen with a Jewish hat.

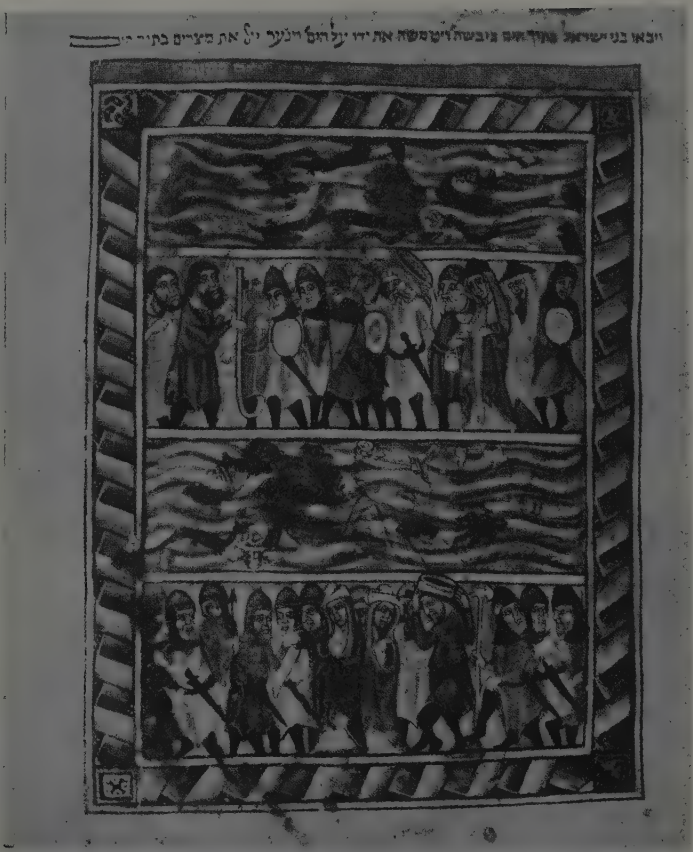
arrangement evokes Kufic script and is particularly striking in a " gate motif ", one broader panel supported by two vertical ones, a large panel marking the beginning and the conclusion of the first part of the Hymn " How great are the calls of the Almighty" respectively. This architectural arrangement is reminiscent of structural decorations such as those of 1085 on the mihrab of the mosque of al-Guyushi or on the framework of the gates of the Alhambra.[1]

The close relationship between the British Museum Haggadah Or. 1404 and the Rylands Haggadah can be observed by comparing the pages of the Haggadah liturgy proper, in which the layout of the lettering and drolleries is similar, and the same can also be said of the programme and execution of the full page illustrations. They share with other Spanish Haggadoth the underlying attitude, which presents realistic scenes in their ritual connections but are singled out among them by their close relationship. The Seder feast and its attributes are seen not only as singular happenings, but as the tokens of the ever recurring miracle of deliverance; in Or. 1404 these scenes are spread over two pages whilst the more compact arrangement of the Rylands Haggadah concentrates on one page only. Particularly noticeable are the drolleries of the former, whilst its Hymn " How many are the calls " has the lettering arranged according to the " gate motif " on top of the page discussed above. In Or. 1404 the scribe, whose framework was set by the illuminator, since text and illumination are connected, did not allow for sufficient space and had therefore to squeeze in a number of words in abbreviation or in smaller lettering. On the other hand, the Rylands Haggadah starts the incantation with the panel of the " gate motif " in the middle of a page and allows full space for the artistic development of the treatment of the lettering, the word " Dayenu " being shown in small gold letters against a rectangular panel connected with the border. The conclusion of the chant is identical with the beginning in its layout of a large panel of lettering, so that these passages are

[1] Cf. K. A. C. Creswell in *Art Bulletin*, March 1953, pp. 1 ff., especially Fig. 3.

Pl. II.—The

(*a*) From the Rylands Haggadah.



Crossing of the Red Sea.

(*b*) From B.M. MS. Or. 1404.

related not only as subject matter, but also in their ornamental layout in both manuscripts (see Pl. I.).

Marked differences between the Rylands Haggadah and Or. 1404 exist in that the panels for the word Dayenu have been dropped in the latter, thus strengthening the vertical aspect of the relevant pages. As has been noted, the " gate motif " is used in Or. 1404 to commence the section on top of the page, whilst it is seen lower down in the Rylands Haggadah. The panels for captions of the full page illustrations are included for both the higher and lower portions in the lay-out of Or. 1404, whereas the separate upper panels seem unconnected in the Rylands Haggadah. The lower ones are not provided in illuminations XII and XIII, which are treated as one unit from the point of view of content, this feature being found in both manuscripts. As to the figures, they are more numerous and animated in the Rylands Haggadah, and the colouring there is more delicate. As to details of illuminations, in Number VI, for example, Moses is seen in dramatic gesticulation, toned down in Or. 1404 ; in illumination X of Or. 1404, the dying of a prisoner has been so simplified as not to be understood easily without recourse to the Rylands Haggadah, where a variety of scenes illustrates the different social classes. A slight coarsening and lack of respect for Jewish tradition is seen in the introduction of a head in the design of the " Burning Bush " in illumination I of Exodus of Or. 1404. It may, therefore, be concluded that the Rylands Haggadah represents a more original and sensitive work, its author experimenting whilst producing it. The manuscript Or. 1404 has to be regarded as a free copy, adding some compositional improvements with regard to the arrangement of the " gate motif ", and vertical panels, but on the whole coarsening its model and multiplying detail, such as the Seder scenes. A great deal remains in common between the manuscripts, however, one of the characteristics being the arrangement of the original captions, which are added to the Exodus stories above the pictures in two bands, mainly based on abbreviated Old Testament quotations, but including descriptive words, such as " Pharaoh ", " sorcerers ", " blood ", which clearly show that they were

added after the completion of the pictures, in order to facilitate their understanding.

That the Rylands Haggadah influenced Or. 1404 is also clear from stylistic comparisons, since the latter is more advanced in style and shows, for example, in the picture of the Seder meal included in the text (illumination XIV) a stress on spatial depth which connects Or. 1404 with Italian Trecento work.

There cannot be any doubt that the Master of the Haggadah Ritual was the main scribe and illuminator of the Rylands Haggadah, since the outlines of the borders and the decorative lettering as well as of the figures are identical, so that no separation is possible between them, and this in the most literal sense of the word. Especially striking are the similarity of the ornamental backgrounds in the full page illustrations and those of the panels of lettering. The liturgical poems enclosing the Rylands Haggadah Ritual proper are decorated by bands in blue and purple tints of a " grisaille " character. They include four vertical panels, two with ornamental plant forms, two showing animals reminiscent of oriental patterns. These ornaments consist of diminutive Hebrew letters, derived from the Masorah, set against an ornamental background, which forms an unusual enrichment of the lettering. Artistically the prototypes of these forms go back to the early Middle Ages, where ornamental letters and decorative patterns of lettering are well known. But the illuminator of this portion of the Rylands Haggadah is unusual in the combination of elements derived from different sources, and in that resembles the Master of the Haggadah Ritual.[1] It is worth noting that in the Appendix of Or. 1404 the " masoretic " lettering is absent, thus simplifying the decoration. This may be due to the fact that the main part of Or. 1404 was copied before the inclusion of the liturgical Appendix.

The similarity in artistic treatment of the different parts of the Rylands manuscript suggests that they are, if not the work of one designer, at least of one scriptorium, the only exception being the last four pages, which are of a later date, crude

[1] Cf. W. Stassow and D. Günzburg, *L'ornement hébraïque*, Berlin, 1905.

and old-fashioned in style and of poor quality. The additional captions at the side of the full page illustrations may well be by the same hand, possibly as late as about 1700.

It is a well-known fact that Jews worked as artists in Spain, but it is doubtful which particular manuscripts may be assigned to them,[1] since all internal evidence is lacking. Starting off with the Dayenu page in the Rylands Haggadah, one is confronted with such an intimate relationship of meaning and lettering that the Master of the Haggadah Ritual has to be regarded as a Jew. If this hypothesis is denied, one has to assume a Jewish mind guiding a Gentile artist, a sort of "Raphael without hands", and this surely is the less likely theory. It is in this light that the other Spanish Haggadoth have to be considered. More difficult is the assessment of the Jewish contribution with regard to the full page illuminations. In the case of the Rylands Haggadah the colouring and style of figures is so similar to the drolleries that unity of the scriptorium, although not necessarily of hands, has been assumed. This may well apply to most Haggadoth, including the Sarayevo Haggadah, but not to Add. 27210 of the British Museum, in which a discrepancy of style exists between the typical Spanish-Hebrew type of lettering and the illuminated pages, which clearly denote a French, markedly Christian, influence.

It has to be borne in mind when assessing the iconographic importance of the Haggadoth that some are derived from older Biblical cycles affording fuller and more varied illustrations. To this tradition belong the Haggadah of Sarayevo and the British Museum manuscripts Or. 2884, as well as Add. 27210. But these facts are insufficient to establish their chronology, as Schlosser suggests.[2]

When comparing the Haggadah of Sarayevo with that in the Rylands Library, it appears that the richer iconographic programme of the former is deeply indebted to Christian prototypes. To quote one example: the French Bible Moralisée of the thirteenth century in the Rylands Library edited by Dr. R. Fawtier shows Latin inscriptions on the panel frames, comparable

[1] A. L. Mayer in Italiener, op. cit. pp. 51 ff.
[2] Müller, op. cit. pp. 211 ff.

to the Hebrew ones in the Spanish Haggadoth.[1] The earth in the shape of a sphere found there held by and in juxtaposition with God on the First Day reflects a popular prototype for the Third Day. It is retained as the main feature of the representation of the days of creation in the Sarayevo Haggadah, the figure of God being eliminated, a fact which suggests that the seated man as an emblem of the Sabbath is a youth resting, and not the Creator. The creation of the world is thus shown not by God revealed in the act, but by the effects of his activity.[2] This disposes of the unlikely interpretation of God resting on the Sabbath, propounded by Schlosser and accepted by other writers including Leveen.[3]

One is also struck by a difference of style between the Haggadah of Sarayevo and that of the Rylands Library, with regard to the full page pictures, since the former is more closely related to the graceful elongated outlines of French illuminated manuscripts such as are found in Add. 27210. Both show a slight Italian influence, whilst the realism of the Rylands Haggadah exists in more characteristically Spanish works. As far as can be judged from the facsimile edition of the Sarayevo Haggadah, its drolleries are restrained; and the chant "How great are the calls of the Almighty" has received no special artistic emphasis, since it is not mentioned in the relevant list of Schlosser.[4] The representation of the Temple is similar to the frankly Gothic rendering in the fourteenth century manuscript of Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*.[5] But whereas the latter depicts the Solomonic Temple and fittings in six panels, the Sarayevo Haggadah reproduces only one, simplifying the type and omitting the faces of the Cherubim. The comparison with the

[1] R. O. L. E. Fawtier, *La bible historiée* (Société française de reproduction de manuscrits à peintures), Paris, 1924.

[2] This tradition is not without importance historically. It is alive in the representation of John Gower shooting at the world, the illumination of a manuscript of *Vox Clamantis* (British Museum, Cotton MS., Tiberius, A IV). It is seen in the representation of the earth on the closed vollets of the "Millennium" by Hieronymos Bosch now in the Prado Museum in Madrid, and may even inspire late eighteenth century designs of the universe as found in French drawings. (Cf. H. Rosenau, *Boullée's Treatise on Architecture*, London, 1953.)

[3] Pp. 34 and 101 respectively.

[4] Schlosser, op. cit. pp. 44 ff.

[5] Bordona, op. cit. pl. 111 (Madrid, National Library, R. 199).

illumination in the *Historia Scholastica* implies that it is the first Temple which is represented in the Haggadah of Sarayevo. The latter's caption, which might well be of a later date, is ambiguous and can designate the Solomonic as well as the Messianic Temple, but in view of the comparison with the *Historia Scholastica* the former interpretation is to be preferred. In this connection it is interesting to recall a group of eighteenth century Polish and German synagogues, which were decorated with wall paintings on which towns were prominently seen, as, for example, the picture of Jerusalem in Kirchheim, which belonged to the Würzburg Museum. The Temple and Jerusalem express the same meaning: both stand for redemption.[1] The delicate colouring of the Haggadah of Sarayevo connects it with French Bibles from which the detailed description of Genesis, unusual in Gothic Haggadah illuminations, derive. Other examples of Christian influence are found in the Haggadah with the French style of illuminations belonging to the Spanish rite in the British Museum (Add. 27210), especially in the scene of Miriam leaving Egypt with her two children, reminiscent of the Flight from Egypt.[2]

It has been observed above that the iconography of the Rylands Haggadah and Or. 1404 corresponds. The same is true of the style, which is based formally on Gothic sources, mainly French, but adapted in Christian Spain, and with an addition of English influences for the drolleries. Added to this are some Italian influences in Or. 1404 which shows spatial architectural motives, such as are found on the second illumination (XIV) representing the Seder meal and preparation, which seem derived from North Italian, perhaps Bolognese, sources.[3] But in spite of these influences, the style has been adapted to the designs

[1] On the relationship between Temple and Synagogue, cf. Megillah, 29a of the Babylonian Talmud. This relationship is stressed by S. Krauss, *Synagogale Altertümer*, Leipzig, 1922. Cf. also the present writer in *A Short History of Jewish Art*, London, 1948, where the importance of the orientation towards Jerusalem is stressed on p. 15 and also pp. 53 and 55, with notes.

[2] Leveen, op. cit. p. 100. The same scene is found in the Rylands Haggadah, Or. 1404 and Or. 2884.

[3] P. d'Ancona, *La Miniatura Fiorentina*, Florence, 1914, and R. Baldani, *La Miniatura à Bologna*, Bologna 1909.

prevalent in the scriptorium, and no particular Italian model seems to have been copied. The facts enumerated above make it clear that the Rylands Haggadah is earlier than Or. 1404, which is to a large extent copied from it, probably in the same scriptorium. Since Italian motives, expressing spatial relations also abound in the Haggadah of Sarayevo and are missing in the Rylands Haggadah, this also corroborates the latter's earlier date.

The fact that its cycle is more restricted than that of either the probably late thirteenth century manuscript Add. 27210, the later Or. 2884 in the British Museum or of the Sarayevo Haggadah has no bearing on the question of chronology, since, as stated above, Bible illustrations precede those of Haggadoth, and shorter or longer extracts from biblical types could be made at will.

It is unfortunate that none of the Haggadoth belonging to the groups here studied possesses an exact date. The dating of the Sarayevo Haggadah has hitherto depended on its ambiguous inscription, relating to a sale, which may be read either 1314 or 1510; the lettering as well as the recording of the sale as such seem to indicate the later date, which is historically useless, since the work belongs obviously to the fourteenth century.[1] The question remains, whether it should be assigned to the beginning or the middle of this period. At the present no conclusive answer to this question is possible, but the latter period appears more likely. The Rylands manuscript, which seems earlier than the Sarayevo Haggadah, should therefore be dated about 1320-30,[2] that is rather earlier than the manuscripts Or. 1404, Or. 2884 and that of Sarayevo, but later than the Haggadah Add. 27210 of the British Museum, commonly dated in the late thirteenth century.

The literal and isolated interpretation of iconographic themes has obscured the underlying meaning of medieval manuscripts,

[1] Müller, op. cit. p. 26.

[2] This date is confirmed by a study of the armours represented in the Rylands Haggadah and Or. 1404, which, according to Mr. C. Blair, can be dated to the period 1320-30. The latter shows that later copies frequently retain the original armour or fashion design. Similarly, in writing, an older man habitually continues using shapes taught in his youth.

whether Jewish or Christian. Only when the illustrations are studied in their sequence is their allegorical or anagogical meaning revealed.[1] For example, in the Haggadah of Sarayevo the picture of the Temple precedes that of the Synagogue, since the Synagogue took the former's place in worship, thus establishing the relationship between the two subjects, in the way so well formulated by Philo, quoted above. Between them is seen the home which could take the place of the Synagogue. Nor is talmudic authority lacking. "At the time when the Temple stood, the altar used to make atonement for a person: now a person's table makes atonement for him."[2] Even as late as in Heine's famous fragment "Der Rabbi von Bacherach" of 1820-31 the festive and holy aspect of the Seder and the traditional attitude of the participants are vividly stressed.

The formal and liturgical character of the Spanish Haggadoth is distinctive. No trace appears of the popular trends which are so noticeable in the later German groups, of which the Rylands Library also possesses a good specimen.[3]

The scenes in the Rylands Haggadah can be divided into two main types from the point of view of costume. Among the fully illustrated pages some figures are dressed in contemporary fashion, especially noticeable in the knights representing the Israelites crossing the Red Sea, and the same can be said of the drolleries. The interiors showing the Seder are enlivened by figures in costly and elaborate contemporary garments, stressing the fashionable element. None of the illustrations shows a Jewish garb or hat, since the differentiation between Christians and Jews based on the edicts of the Lateran Council of

[1] Cf. B. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 2nd edn., Oxford, 1952, *passim*, and H. Caplan in *Speculum*, vol. iv (1929), pp. 282 ff.

[2] Hagigah 27*a*, translated by I. Abrahams (*The Babylonian Talmud*, ed. by I. Epstein).

[3] Typical is the picture of the Jewish children hidden behind a curtain in an orchard in this manuscript. The illumination is based on Sotah 11b of the Babylonian Talmud. It has been wrongly interpreted as representing monkeys (Müller, op. cit. p. 186). Incidentally the mnemonic formula as represented in illuminations of "Jagd den Haas" (Yaknehas) was popular with German Jews, and goes back to a frequent motif found in Spain. It was adapted but not created as a help to students for the recital of the Kiddush of certain festivals.

11 November 1215 was not strictly enforced in Spain.[1] Furthermore, the Jewish tradition that the head should be covered on religious occasions (based mainly on Exodus iii. 6) was not strictly enforced during the Middle Ages. Jews, when "called to the Law" in the synagogues were bareheaded, states Mr. Hyamson with regard to France and Germany, a fact also mentioned by Italiener who points out that the Spanish Jews were commended for covering their heads, as is seen in Seder and Synagogue representations. Since the artistic prototypes are Christian, and no strong feeling against bareheadedness obtained it is not surprising that the Rabbis are seen in this manner. From time to time, however, Jews were made to wear a round badge, three to four fingers wide, whilst the "capa rotunda" was required in Barcelona after 1283.[2] The signs of shame were almost entirely suppressed in Spanish illumination, although in the fifteenth century, especially in Germany, the Jews appear in their decorations less sensitive in this matter. Perhaps by then they had become used to discriminatory laws. But as a general statement it is true to say that any special restrictions on Jews in costume were ignored in illumination as well as in current custom in Spain.

The marginal figures of Rabbis in the Rylands manuscript reflect the classical tradition, as found in the Christian iconography of Evangelists and scribes, mentioned above. In the Seder scene in the British Museum manuscript Or. 1404 the male participants are also seen without hats, no doubt influenced by the iconography of the Last Supper.

These Jewish manuscripts thus differ from the typical Christian ones, in which the Jews are strikingly characterized by their costume, especially the Jewish hat, and sometimes also by a protruding nose. This does not apply, however, to the figures of Christ and the Apostles, whom it is unusual to find

[1] Cf. A. A. Neuman, *The Jews in Spain*, Philadelphia, 1942, II, pp. 202 ff. Cf. also note 1, p. 475 and Italiener, *passim*.

[2] Cf. the above note and note 2, p. 481 I. Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, 2nd edn., London, 1932, p. 300, infers from Hamanhig, *Laws on Prayer*, para. 45, that the French Jews customarily did not cover their heads in prayer. Italiener, op. cit. p. 30.

represented as Jews, an exception being the twelfth century English "Life of Christ" in the Perrins Collection,[1] where Christ and the Apostles are seen with Jewish hats, set against haloes. Well known examples of the Jewish hat are found in the Spanish Bible of 1273 in the Perrins Collection by Johannes Poncii, the figures in relief of the Naumburg rood screen and the Jewish Minnesinger Süsskind von Trimberg as represented in the "Manesse Handschrift" in Heidelberg[2] which in turn goes back to representations of legal scenes as found in the Heidelberg manuscript of the Sachsenspiegel. It also perhaps appears in three of the men in the scene of the Seder in the British Museum Haggadah Or. 2884. In this it is at variance with both the Rylands Haggadah and British Museum Or. 1404, as stated above. A difference of colour is also striking in the former manuscript, especially in the predominance of red. There the design of the Hymn ending in "Dayenu" is not singled out artistically to the same extent, although it possessed a flower border, now partly trimmed off. The costume worn by Jews when represented in Synagogue is similar in all the manuscripts mentioned and analogous to that of Christians, except that their heads are covered with hoods, the white one of the reader being possibly a "tallit", a prayer shawl in Or. 2884. Incidentally the lamps represented here and in numerous Seder scenes are identical with Moslem ones, the Arabic script only being lacking.

The prototypes of the illustrations of the Exodus as seen in the Haggadoth may be reconstructed from the wall paintings of Dura-Europos of the third century.[3] Here the large repeated

[1] No. I of the *Catalogue*, op. cit.

[2] The Jewish hat is a marked feature of Süsskind. Cf. B. Badt, *Die Lieder des Süsskind von Trimberg*, Berlin, 1920, whose conclusions we mainly accept. The scepticism voiced by R. Straus in *Jewish Social Studies*, vol. x (1948), pp. 19 ff. seems to respond to antisemitism by an inverted nationalism. Cf. also *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* and *Encyclopaedia Judaica* under "Barhäuptigkeit, Kleidung, Judenzeichen".

[3] Among the many works published on the subject the following are outstanding: M. Rostovtzeff, *Dura-Europos and its Art*, Oxford, 1938. G. Wodtke in *Zeitschrift für Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1935, pp. 51 ff. R. Wischnitzer, *The Messianic Theme in the Paintings of the Synagogue of Dura-Europos*, Chicago, 1948, pp. 54 and 100. D. Kaufmann first drew attention to the problem in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. ix (1897), pp. 254 ff., and in Müller, op. cit. p. 256.

figures of Moses are dominant in scale over the Israelites, and their enemies the Egyptians. But older specimens of such Biblical illustrations may have existed, as reflected in the "Jonah" sarcophagus of Arles, for example.[1] Dura itself was no more than a provincial outpost and must have been influenced by artistic centres like Antioch and Alexandria. Finkelstein's theory, dating the passover Haggadah as early as the Talmudic period, tends to give additional weight to the evidence in Dura.[2]

Two iconographic details are worth noting: the division into stripes of the panels of victorious Israelites and Egyptians drowning among large fish is found in Dura as well as in some of the Spanish Haggadoth, although the number of these divisions varies: two vertical panels are found in Dura, whilst five horizontal panels appear in the Rylands Library Haggadah, and four in Or. 1404 of the British Museum (see Pl. II). This scene is less popular in Christian cycles, for which it was comparatively meaningless, whereas for the Jews the deliverance from Egypt is traditionally regarded as the foundation of their future existence as a people. The Sarayevo Haggadah contains a picture of the Temple, as stated above. The "Aaronic" Temple as a classical buildingis also seen in Dura, and appears in Palestinian synagogues, such as in Beth Alpha.[3] The city of Jerusalem, frequently seen in eighteenth century paintings, continues the meaning, if not the form, of this tradition. The picture of the Temple or Jerusalem seen in the synagogue, expresses the latter's religious significance. In the Sarayevo Haggadah the Temple is found, together with the distribution of the Seder meal and the exterior of the Synagogue, which clearly relates the three places, as united in holiness. Pictorial representations of synagogues of the Roman Imperial period are known in an abbreviated form, since the Torah shrine revealing the Scrolls and ritual objects appear on

[1] F. Gerke, *Die christlichen Sarkophage*, Berlin, 1940, *passim*. Cf. also O. Wulff, Appendix to *Altchristliche und Byzantinische Kunst*, Bibliographisch-kritischer Nachtrag, Berlin, 1939 and Leveen, op. cit. p. 120 for a survey of some of the most important contributions to this problem.

[2] *Harvard Theological Review*, 1942, pp. 292 ff., 1943, pp. 1 ff.

[3] Cf. Rosenau, op. cit. especially pp. 14, 47 ff.

gold glasses.[1] Synagogues as a realistic subject-matter for illumination seem, however, to have been a medieval innovation. Their style is derived from Italian prototypes, emphasizing interiors and their spatial effects. But the iconographic content is new, and led to a re-interpretation of form.

Uninterrupted and continuous tradition characterizes the life of the Spanish Jews, as is well known. This is found, for example, in their retention of the original pronunciation of Hebrew, the building of synagogues with galleries and their flat tombstones derived from sarcophagi. This continuity lends support to the theory of a Jewish pictorial development, partially submerged at later times, but re-appearing in the Haggadoth and slowly being reconstructed by recent research. With the help of medieval illuminations, the Dura paintings and the Early Christian sarcophagi with their Old Testament cycles, attempts can be made to understand the development of Jewish iconography.[2] In this evolution the Spanish Haggadoth take an important place, the manuscript in the John Rylands Library presenting in its artistic unity and quality an outstanding example.

[1] Cf. the present writer's "Some Aspects of the Pictorial Influence of the Jewish Temple", *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, July 1936, pp. 157 ff. G. Margoliouth, *Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. ii (1905), p. 202, confused the representation of the synagogue with a family picture in the manuscript Or. 2884, and therefore fails to do justice to the implied relationship between synagogue and home.

[2] Cf. C. R. Morey, *Early Christian Art*, Princeton, 1942, especially p. 71, and the authorities quoted in notes. C. Roth's article in the *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* XVI, 1953, Nos. 1-2, appeared after the completion of this study. It adds a number of valuable details to the hypothesis presented as a proof of a Jewish influence through illuminated Hebrew Bibles on Early Christian art, but ignores the fundamental difference between the architectural aspects of the Temple and the Torah shrine, already pointed out by the present writer in 1936 (cf. above note). Cf. on this problem the well-documented study of C. Wendel, *Der Thoraschein im Altertum*, Halle 1950.

The pioneering work on the subject still remains J. Strzygowski, *Orient oder Rom*, Leipzig, 1901. On the Ashburnham Pentateuch, cf. O. von Gebhardt, *The Miniatures of the Ashburnham Pentateuch*, London, 1883. A perusal of the illustrations make it clear that it is the Temple, and not the Torah shrine which is represented on the first illuminated page, as suggested by the writer. Cf. note 1 above, and J. Gutmann in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. xliv. (July 1953), pp. 55 ff.

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE WESTERN DESERT: II

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IN this article we are mainly concerned with the Pharaonic, Ptolemaic, and Roman associations with the Western Desert and Cyrenaica.

At the time of Rameses II (1298-1232 B.C.) there were three main Libyan tribes or ethnic groups in Cyrenaica and the Western Desert,[2] which we must consider as a historical unit during this period, the *Meshwesh* being stationed in the western sector of Cyrenaica, the *Lebu* (whence the name "Libya") partly in its eastern sector and partly in the Western Desert, the *Thehenu* in the region between Lebu land and the Nile Valley.

[1] During the last war I acted as kind of liaison official between the British and Egyptian authorities for the antiquities in the so-called "Prohibited Military Area in the Western Desert". I take this opportunity of thanking the British Military for the kind assistance they gave me and for the transport which enabled me to traverse in comparative safety the mine-infested region in question. I have also to thank many officers of the Royal Air Force especially those who, under my control, actually excavated a tomb of the Thirtieth Dynasty (378-341 B.C.) in a secret area at Aboukir near Alexandria; the "finds" were most interesting, consisting of nearly four hundred inscribed funerary figurines (*ushebtys*), some objects of gold, etc., all of which are in the Graeco-Roman Museum, Alexandria. My first acquaintance with Cyrenaica was in the months of May and August 1943, when I undertook special trips there at the request of the Civil Affairs Branch, British Military Authorities, Cairo, in order to compile a report on the conditions of the antiquities of the country.

[2] For the earliest history of the fair-skinned Libyans and details of their association with the Pre-dynastic Egyptians of the Delta, see A. Moret, *Le Nil et la Civilisation Égyptienne* (1926), pp. 84 ff. The political periods of Prehistoric Egypt as a whole are dealt with by É. Drioton et J. Vandier, *L'Égypte* (1946), pp. 132 ff., 161 f. In connection with the supposed *Nome of the Fish* mentioned in my first article it seems that the ensign of the fish [nome] vanished from Egypt in the time of Narmer and subsequently appeared on the oldest Aegean ships in the Cycladic ports. V. Gordon Childe, *The Most Ancient East* (1928), pp. 95, 222.

See Map.[1] Rameses invaded the land of the Thehenu, defeating them and their naval allies the Sherden (perhaps proto-Sardinians who may have originated in Asia Minor), and attacked the Lebu in their own land.[2]

In order to protect the desert road to Egypt from assaults from the west Rameses was obliged to erect a line of six forts along the sea-coast of Thehenu land. It is probable that an inscription of his reign records the building of these defensive works although it does not give their names or state how many there were: "He (Rameses II) settled the Thehenu on the heights, filling strongholds which he built with the captivity of his mighty sword." The forts, which I recently identified, stretched for 341 kilometres (about 213 miles) roughly west of the town Rhacotis—much later to become a suburb of Alexandria. From at least the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards,[3] as I hope to

[1] Smaller Libyan tribes named in the hieroglyphic inscriptions are listed in O. Bates, *The Eastern Libyans* (1914), pp. 47 f. Some pre-Ramesside contacts with the Libyans will be found in op. cit. pp. 210 ff.

[2] The details of the Aegypto-Libyan wars of Rameses II, Merenptah and Rameses III given in this article augment the information in J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, v (1907), p. 86 (LIBYA). See also my *History of Ancient Cyrenaica*, Cahier No. 12 of *Annales du Service* (1948), for other particulars concerning the Aegypto-Libyan wars and associations during the Ramesside and later eras. The first known mention of *Lebu*, in Libya itself (actually in Thehenu land), occurs on a monument of Rameses II from el-Alamein. Cf. my article in *Bull. de la Soc. Royale d'Arch. d'Alexandrie*, xxxv (1942), pp. 163 ff. The Pharaonic dates I give are after É. Drioton et J. Vandier, op. cit. pp. 597 ff.

[3] An earlier foundation date for Rhacotis is perhaps indicated by the finding of part of a stela of Senwosret II or III, Twelfth Dynasty, in the Alexandria Serapeum; E. A. W. Budge, *Guide to the Egyptian Galleries*, etc. (1909), p. 86, No. 298. Apart from this stela the antiquity of Rhacotis is shown from the following names of kings I identified on monuments and other objects in Alexandria: Tuthmosis III and IV, Amenophis III, Horemheb, Sety I, Rameses II, Merenptah, Sety II, Rameses IX, Ra-meny of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, Psammetichus I and II, Apries, Amasis II, Achoris, Nectanebos I and II (= 1504—341 B.C.). An inscription of Amenophis III (J. H. Breasted, op. cit. ii, 892), found in Thebes, refers to a war against the Thehenu, the captives being set to work on an Egyptian fortress surrounded by a great wall and settled with Nubians. Could this have been Rhacotis wherein a monument bearing the king's name is a statue of himself mentioning the goddess "Sekhmet the Maid"? For later references to Alexandria see especially the two following works by A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (1937), pp. 303–7, 311 f., 314, 329, 339, 346, 470–72, and *The Greek City* (1940), page numbers quoted on p. 374.

show in another article, Rhacotis was the chief frontier fortress in the north-west corner of the Delta. I refer the reader to the list of the forts in ADDENDUM A of this article and to certain details concerning them given in pages 139 ff. of my first article. The sixth fort, Apis (the Pharaonic *Hut-Ka*, " House of the Bull "), was apparently on the boundary between Thehenu land and Lebu land; the modern boundary between Egypt and the country now known as Cyrenaica is at Salloum. In addition to these six sea-coast forts (numbered i-vi on Map) there was another line of six forts running south-eastwards from Rhacotis (1-6 on Map) the purpose of which was to guard the western part of the Delta against the Meshwesh, Lebu and other Libyans and their confederates.

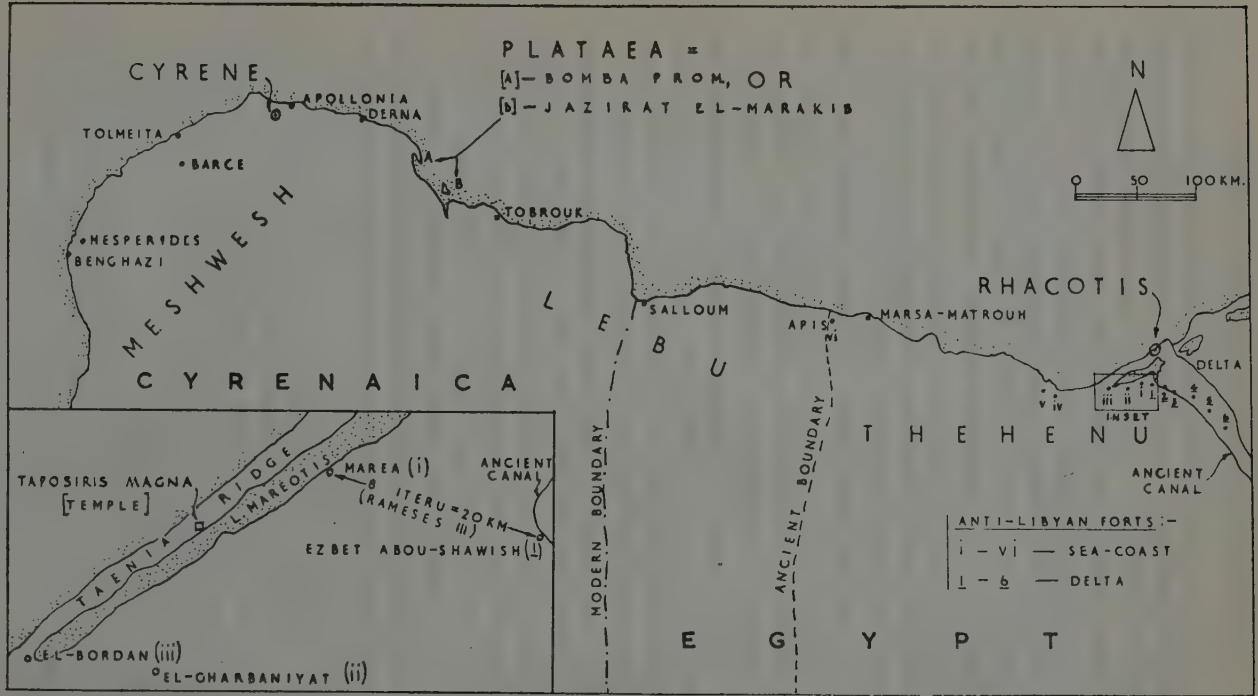
In 1227 B.C., during the reign of Merenptah (1232-1224 B.C.) and with the good will of the Hittites, the Lebu who had associated themselves with various peoples from the North Mediterranean and Asia Minor (" Northerners from all lands " = the so-called " Peoples of the Sea ") including the Sherden and the Luka (proto-Lycians(?)), who had taken refuge in North Africa, attempted to invade Lower Egypt, but they got only as far as the Egyptian *Delta-frontier* fort called " Castle of Merenptah which is in Per-Ir ", probably the modern Ezbet Abou-Shawish, where they were heavily defeated and pursued to the " Mountain of Up-Ta ", evidently Taenia Ridge north of Lake Mareotis. See Map, inset. Merenptah later attacked the Meshwesh in their own land, being the first Pharaoh to reach Western Cyrenaica. He brought back twelve horses, some cattle and goats, " copper swords of the Meshwesh ", armour, bows, and silver drinking-vessels. No doubt much of the military equipment mentioned had been introduced into Cyrenaica by the northern allies of the Meshwesh just as similar equipment must have been by the Sherden in the previous reign. The horse now appears for the first time in the historical records of Cyrenaica, and it is very possible that the animal, or at least that very fine breed of it generally associated with the country, especially in the Odes of Pindar many centuries later, was likewise of contemporary northern or Asiatic origin.[1]

[1] See footnote 1 on opposite page.

In the reign of Rameses III (1198-1166 B.C.) two Libyan invasions of Lower Egypt were attempted. The first one occurred in 1194 B.C. when the Meshwesh and associated tribes temporarily overran the Delta. They were eventually thrown out and heavily defeated at the *sea-coast* fort "Town of [Rameses III] Repulser of *Themehu* (= 'Southern Libya')", probably situated on the site later called Marea, south of Lake Mareotis. See Map, inset. The second invasion occurred in 1188 B.C. when the Meshwesh and others only got as far as Hut-Shā, "Castle of Sand", a name then evidently given to the *Delta-frontier* fort previously called "Castle of Merenptah which is in Per-Ir" (Ezbet Abou-Shawish). From Hut-Shā they were driven north-westwards to the *sea-coast* fort "Town of [Rameses III] which is by the Mountain of Up-Ta" (probably the same fort as the "Town of [Rameses III] Repulser of Themehu" = Marea), a distance of "8 *iteru*", or about 20 kilometres.[2] As practically confirming my identifications of (*a*) Hut-Shā with Ezbet Abou-Shawish (fort No. 1 on Map) and (*b*) "Town of [Rameses III] which is by the Mountain of Up-Ta" with Marea (fort No. i), it may be mentioned that the distance between the two Arab sites Ezbet Abou-Shawish and Marea is only slightly greater than that mentioned above, namely, 21 kilometres ($8\frac{2}{5}$ *iteru*)! Hut-Shā itself was on or near a contemporary canal called "Waters of the Sun-God" and "Western Canal", which then ran into Lake Mareotis. See my first article, p. 140, footnote 5. Rameses III also records that he invaded the Meshwesh country capturing chariots, army equipment, horses, cattle, asses, and over two

[1] In the Museum of Sculpture, Cyrene, are monuments of the post-Ramesside period showing the horse, or the head of the horse, and even a chariot with horses. A Late Minoan seal-impression portraying a horse being carried in a one-masted vessel is interpreted by A. J. Evans as the first importation of a horse from Libya into Crete, but this view is not generally held. See O. Bates, op. cit. p. 28, n. 5. It must be noted that in Egypt the non-thoroughbred horse does not appear in the sculptures before the Eighteenth Dynasty; the skeleton of a mare of this period is exhibited in the Cairo Museum. R. Englebach, *Introduction to Egyptian Archaeology*, Cairo (1946), p. 261.

[2] Actual measurements at el-Amarna have shown that the *iteru*, literally "river-measure", averaged 2,500 metres. J. Ball, *Egypt in the Classical Geographers*, Cairo (1942), p. 6; cf. also A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (1926), p. 199.



Map of Cyrenaica and the Western Desert showing the positions of (*a*) The three main Libyan tribes in Pharaonic times, the Meshwesh, Lebu and Thehenu; (*b*) The twelve anti-Libyan forts which protected the Western Delta and the sea-coast road to Egypt (see ADDENDUM A); and (*c*) Plataea Island where the Dorian colonizers of Cyrenaica landed in the seventh century B.C. Bomba promontory was once an island.

thousand people. These are the first chariots mentioned in connection with Cyrenaica and recall the four-horse chariots of the country described by Pindar. Herodotus [1] says that the Greeks derived their knowledge of the quadriga from Libya.

After their final repulse by Rameses III in 1188 B.C. the Libyans gave up their attempts to enter Egypt by force, but soon infiltrated peacefully into that country. As they were essentially warriors they took service under the Pharaohs as mercenaries and, indeed, from before the end of the Twentieth Dynasty (which fell in 1085 B.C.), they formed the greater part of the Egyptian army. As soldiers they received grants of land. They created military colonies in Egypt which rapidly grew in importance. Each colony was commanded by a Libyan with the title " Great Chief of Meshwesh ", which shows that the " Cyrenaican " element in the army was the strongest. They conserved their Libyan names and fixed a double plume in their hair which led them to be called " Bearers of the Double Plume ".[2]

Among the Libyan colonists was an important family at Heracleopolis Magna in Middle Egypt established by the " Great Chief " Musen. His father, Buyu-wawa, although called a " Thehenu " (probably because he lived in an oasis in Thehenu land) was evidently a Meshwesh chief. So powerful did the family eventually become that one of the successors of Musen, a " Great Chief of Meshwesh " named Nemrat, held not only the Heracleopolis region but also Abydos which he made the seat of his administration. When he died his son Sheshonk, also a " Great Chief of Meshwesh ", who professed to be a supporter of the contemporary ruler Psousennes II, last king of the Twenty-first Dynasty (984-950 B.C.), became so strong that he took his place almost as a partner in the royal festivals and victories. After the death of Psousennes—he was buried at Thebes—Sheshonk made himself the founder, Sheshonk I, of the Twenty-second Dynasty. He ruled from 950-929 B.C.[3] It was apparently during the reign of Sheshonk I that the priest Wayeheset, the son of a " Chief of Meshwesh ", was sent to el-Dakhla Oasis in Eastern Libya to reorganize the region, then

[1] iv, 189.
[2] É. Drioton et J. Vandier, op. cit. p. 500.
[3] Op. cit. pp. 501, 535, 540.

in a state of a rebellion, and to inspect its wells and cisterns.[1] Another Meshwesh who had settled in Egypt about this time or later was Pa-en-sen-her, whose father bore the name Shashaq (Sheshonk), a fairly common one in the late period; his beautifully decorated wooden coffin is now in the British Museum.[2] The fact that the Egyptian army at this time largely consisted not only of Libyans but also of Nubians[3] explains why in the Old Testament Sheshonk I was said to have employed "Ethiopians and the Lubians (literally *Lubim*—from *Lebu*, see Map), a vast army with an enormous number of chariots and horsemen"[4] in order to invade Judah and sack Jerusalem.

Another "Great Chief of Meshwesh" in Egypt was Pediese. In 795 B.C., during the reign of Sheshonk III (823-772 B.C.) he conducted the burial of a sacred Apis bull in the Memphite Serapeum. He afterwards joined in the search for a new Apis in the same year. It was he who buried this bull also in the Serapeum twenty-six years later, that is to say, in the reign of Pami (772-767 B.C.), the successor of Sheshonk III.[5] Next must be mentioned Weshtehet the Libyan chief-caravaneer. He lived in the reign of Sheshonk IV, second king of the Twenty-third Dynasty (763-757 B.C.) and controlled the intercourse with the Oases in the Libyan desert. His superior was a "Great Chief of Lebu and Great Chief of Meshwesh" named Hetihenker.[6] The

[1] J. H. Breasted, op. cit. iv, 725 ff.

[2] Published in colour in *A Handbook to the Egyptian Mummies and Coffins Exhibited in The British Museum* (1938), p. 47, Pl. XV.

[3] Cf. J. H. Breasted, op. cit. iv, 720, 723 (references to the control of Lower Nubia by Sheshonk I and to the bringing of tribute therefrom).

[4] 2 Chron. xii. 2, 3; xvi. 8. The chariot was of course greatly used by the Libyans. The "treasures of the house of the Lord" (1 Kings xiv. 26) removed by Sheshonk from Jerusalem recall the "presents from the Land of Kharu (Palestine)" which an Egyptian inscription records the king offered to the god Amen-Ra at Karnak. Monuments bearing the king's name have come from Megiddo and Beirut. See my *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, etc., in the Palestine Archaeological Museum*, (1936), pp. xxxvii f. It may be mentioned here that the statement of O. Bates, *The Eastern Libyans*, p. 259, that the Libyans are mentioned in an inscription (*temp.* Rameses II) concerning the Asiatic fortress of Satuna is erroneous, for it has since been established that the reference to Libyans is a mistake of the ancient sculptor, afterwards corrected by him or another.

[5] J. H. Breasted, op. cit. iv, 771-4, 778-81.

[6] Op. cit. iv, 782-4.

last of the known "Great Chiefs of Meshwesh" were small rulers in the Delta during the time of Piankhi the Nubian conqueror of Egypt (751-716 B.C.) and founder of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.[1]

In connection with the history of Cyrenaica of the late eighth century B.C. we may note that a skyphos of this date (probably from Sparta) was actually found in Cyrene, afterwards being removed to the Berlin Museum.[2]

The Old Libyan Period of the country came to an end with the arrival of the Dorians from the island of Thera. Under their leader Battus, eventually their king (Battus I, 631-606 B.C.), they established their capital at Cyrene in the high mountains of Cyrenaica. The site on which they landed on the mainland after leaving the island of Plataea (see Map)—where they had previously remained for a little while—was called Aziris, identified by Mr. C. N. Johns, formerly Controller of Antiquities of Cyrenaica, in the Wadi el-Khalig, "Valley of the [Bomba] Gulf", about 25 kilometres east of Derna, and some 96 kilometres from Cyrene. Mr. Johns and I explored certain large areas to the east and west of Cyrene where we inspected some massive tombs of undressed masonry, so far uncleared and unpublished, of such an archaic-looking type as to lead us provisionally to suppose that some of the monuments in question belonged either to the more or less immediate successors of the original Dorians, or to people of a little more recent times who for some reason or other did not consider it necessary to have their tombs possess the generally finer appearance of those near the city itself. Only extensive excavations can decide this point.[3]

[1] Op. cit. iv, 830, 878.

[2] *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts—Athenische Abteilung* (Berlin), lii (1927), p. 32, Fig. 51. I thank Mr. V. R. d'A. Desborough for this reference. It may be recalled that the "Cyrenaic" ware—so named—also probably originated in Sparta. See references in my *History of Ancient Cyrenaica*, p. 77. We get hints from classical sources that during the Old Libyan Period Cyrenaica was known to pre-Dorian settlers from Crete(?), Thessaly, the Peloponnese, as well as to people from Asia Minor and elsewhere.

[3] Many tombs near Cyrene were subsequently excavated by the Manchester University Archaeological Expedition to Cyrenaica in 1952, and will be published later on. The official members of the expedition were the Rev. Dr. John Gray, Mr. Derek Buttle, and myself as leader.

In the time of Battus II of Cyrene (590-560 B.C.), according to Herodotus,[1] king Amasis of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty of Egypt despatched to Cyrene a gilded statue of Athena (the Egyptian Neith) and a painted statue of himself. It seems not improbable, I believe, that certain Egyptian amulets discovered by the Italians in the oldest temple of Artemis at Cyrene were sent there at the same time as the statues, for it appears that the amulets are contemporary with the Twenty-sixth Dynasty type. The objects consist of three scarabs (two inscribed " Amen-Ra is Beautiful " and one " Horus is Strong ") and a sacred eye, all of faience.[2] We may note that two Egyptian scarabs dating from the Twenty-second to Twenty-sixth Dynasties have been found in the so-called " Archaic Grave " in Sellada, on Thera, the home of the Dorian colonizers of Cyrenaica.[3]

After the end of the Battiad Dynasty in 450 B.C., a kind of republic was established in Cyrenaica. Herodotus himself actually visited Cyrene not long after that date, actually about 443 B.C., when the older *Thehenu* race of Libyans had at some unknown time before been supplanted by the Adyrmachidae, as also had the *Lebu* by the Giligamae, and the *Meshwesh* by the Nasamones. In the vicinity of Cyrene, but not reaching to the coast, which was held by the Cyrenaicans, there dwelt the Asbystae; from south of Barce to about Hesperides (see Map) lived the Auschisae, while at Tocra—between Tolmeita and Benghazi—were the Baccles, a small coastal tribe.

Two beautiful Athenian black-figured amphorae found some time ago at Benghazi, and now in the Graeco-Roman Museum, Alexandria, belong to the close of the republic. Each amphora mentions the name of the contemporary archon (one, Phrasicleides 371 B.C. and the other, Nicomachos, 341 B.C.), is inscribed with the words " From the Games at Athens ", and bears the figure of the goddess Athena Promachos (" Champion ").[4] After being filled with olive-oil—the olive tree itself was sacred to Athena—the amphorae were given to the victor-owners in the Panathenaic

[1] ii, 181. [2] *Africa Italiana*, iv, p. 203.

[3] J. D. S. Pendlebury, *Aegyptiaca, A Catalogue of Egyptian Objects in the Aegean Area* (1930), pp. 107 f.

[4] See my *History of Ancient Cyrenaica*, pp. 35 ff., Pl. XII.

Games in Athens before their return to Cyrenaica. The Manchester University Expedition came across in a cemetery near Cyrene a huge masonry tomb, shaped like an Egyptian mastaba (a rectangular structure with sides sloping towards a common centre and with flat top), dating from between the fifth to early fourth centuries B.C.

In 331 B.C. Alexander the Great annexed Egypt to his Empire after having driven out the Persians and it was then that Cyrenaica submitted to him. At his death, however, in 323 B.C.,[1] civil war aided largely by mercenaries, broke out in Cyrenaica so that during the next year Ptolemy, satrap of Egypt for Alexander's successors (323-305 B.C.), was forced to send an officer, Ophellas of Olynthus, to establish Egypt's control there. A Greek inscription referring to a defensive war off the Cyrenaican coast, which occurred either during the civil war or at a slightly earlier date, is of much interest as it mentions the capture of three triremes, subsequently brought to Cyrene as a tithe for Apollo, by the local admirals Stheno, Kallipos, and Psapho.[2]

In the famous "Palace of the Columns" at Tolmeita (Ptolemais), the port of Barce, Dr. G. Pesce, former Italian Government Chief Inspector of Monuments, Cyrenaica, unearthed some parts of important Egyptian statues in stone, four of which bear hieroglyphic inscriptions. The monuments which indicate that an Egyptian colony and temples existed in the port, are Ptolemaic in date, evidently belonging, I believe, to the reign of Ptolemy III (247-221 B.C.). I now describe the four monuments and analyse their inscriptions, thus :— [3]

[1] Part of a column with funerary goddesses seemingly from the tomb of Ptolemy VI (181-145 B.C.), which I identified in Alexandria is, I believe, from the great mausoleum or *Soma* of Alexander the Great, for the tombs of the Ptolemies were of course included in the enclosure of the *Soma*. Op. cit. pp. 42 ff., Pl. IV.

[2] *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, ix, no. 76; also G. Oliverio, in *Documenti Antichi dell'Africa Italiana*, ii (1933), pp. 94 ff., no. 59. Cf. further R. G. Goodchild, in *Antiquity*, no. 104 (December 1952), pp. 208 ff., who says that in 413 B.C., owing to Libyan attacks, Hesperides (which was in existence as early as 510 B.C.) had to be relieved by a Greek naval force. There actually stands in the market-place (*agora*) at Cyrene a naval-victory monument which, like others of its class, has representations of prows of enemy ships attached to it.

[3] See my *History of Ancient Cyrenaica*, pp. 62 ff., Pl. XIV, for the first published accounts of monuments Nos. 2 and 3 (the accounts in the present

No. 1. STATUE OF PSAMMETICHUS. Only the base of this monument is preserved; its present whereabouts are unknown. The inscription, of which some signs are missing, prays that "Osiris . . ., the [Great] Prince, may grant life, health and strength, a long life, a long and happy old age to the army commander Psammetichus [son of the overseer of] ship-builders (*or* carpenters) of the 'House of the King', Her-ef-en-ankh-shed (*or* -djed) -Khons(?), . . ." The "House of the King" may perhaps be the Tolmeita palace itself; the name of the father, a long one, is rather uncertain.

No. 2. STATUE OF SHER-AMEN. The head and feet of this statue are missing, but from some of the remaining parts we see that Sher-Amen, a royal scribe, holds a military standard of a Tolmeita(?) regiment in each hand. One standard is named "Neith (= Athena) Lady of Sais" and the other "Osiris Lord of the Abydos Necropolis", both names obviously being those of the regiments themselves, of which Sher-Amen was either a standard-bearer or a kind of commander. His father was Pa-en-djerty, a judge, and his mother, Mut-em-Int, a musician. On the front of the statue is a prayer for funerary offerings on behalf of Sher-Amen to "Osiris at the head of the Westerners (i.e. the dead)" and to "Neith Lady of Abydos". The title *Lady of Abydos* is a most surprising one for Neith, because in Egypt at least she was invariably Lady of *Sais*. The town Abydos mentioned on the statue may just possibly have been a Cyrenaican one (Cyrene(?)).

No. 3. STATUE OF HARPOCRATES.[1] As in the case of the previous monument the upper and lower parts of this statue also are missing. Harpocrates was a chief commander of the soldiers, royal scribe of the accounting-house of Pharaoh (perhaps in the Tolmeita palace), prophet of various Nilotic gods, all doubtless worshipped in the town. His inscription states that he built a temple to Osiris, made of limestone from the Tura-Ma'sara quarries in Egypt, and that cedar—which usually came from the Lebanon—was employed for its doors, which were overlaid with Asiatic copper.[2] He provided for the door of the inner sanctuary of the temple an upper shutter of electrum so that the priests could gaze upon the face of the statue of Osiris and offer up incense without having to open the whole door. He tells us further that he made a portable sacred [boat] for carrying the statues of the gods around the temple precincts during the "New Year Festivals", and that he made a shrine of electrum inlaid with precious

article are revised ones) together with copies of their hieroglyphic texts. The details of No. 1 are taken from photographs in G. Pesce, *Il "Palazzo delle Colonne" in Tolemaide di Cirenaica* (1950), Figs. 79-81. I have to thank Professor H. W. Fairman for some notes on the hieroglyphic texts of Nos. 1 and 4.

[1] His father, Horus, held offices similar to those of his son; his mother was Ha-ta (?) . . . Harpocrates was married to the lady Hathor-ity; their daughter was Nebt-reshut, a musician of the goddess Sekhmet.

[2] The description of the materials used in the temple follows a well-known *cliché* employed in descriptions of certain new temples in the Ptolemaic era, and is therefore not to be taken literally.

stones so that a status of Osiris could be exhibited in it on the day of the " Festival of Seker ".[1] He relates too, that he replaced in what seems to have been an older temple of Osiris, the statues of various gods on their pedestals ; the name of this older temple was " House of the ' Tired-Heart (i.e. Osiris) ' ". It is just possible, I suggest, that these fallen statues were among the images of Egyptian deities mentioned in the Canopic Decree of 237 B.C. as having been brought back by Ptolemy III, after his war with the Seleucids, from Asia, where they had been taken by the Persians during their second domination of Egypt, and evidently of Cyrenaica, about a century earlier. If such were the case it would show why the older temple of Osiris was damaged, as it apparently was, before the time of Harpocrates. The fact that the new temple was called " Temple of Osiris Lord of the ' House of the Tamarisk Grove ' " is of much interest as we learn from it that the Egyptian name for Tolemita was " House of the Tamarisk Grove ". The tamarisk-tree was of course associated with the cult of Osiris.[2]

No. 4. STATUE OF HARMACHIS.[3] The only part of this statue remaining is a fragment of its back, including a small portion of the perpendicular supporting pedestal. The object is now, with Nos. 2 and 3 above-mentioned, in the Museum of Sculpture at Cyrene, where I noticed it ; it is here published for the first time. Harmachis was the son of a man called Erdy- . . . (some signs are missing). According to the badly broken and weathered inscription Harmachis was a ". . . scribe, beloved of the King's Sister (i.e. the queen), of the Fifth Phyle[4] of the Festival of the ' Two Benefactor-Gods'. . . " As the foundation of this phyle was established by the

[1] A similiar type of shrine is mentioned in the Rosetta Stone text of Ptolemy V (203-181 B.C.).

[2] Plutarch, *Isis and Osiris*, xiii ff. The Egyptian deities mentioned in the texts on monuments Nos. 1-3 are Osiris, Anubis, Imhotep (the Imouthis of the Greeks and associated by them with Asclepius), Horus (= Apollo), Neith (= Athena), Khons (= Heracles), and Khnum the tutelary god of Aswan, whence perhaps came some of the Tolemita garrison. For classical references to the Egyptian deities Ammon, Isis, Horus, Apis and Serapis, worshipped in Cyrenaica, see L. Vitali, *Fonti per la Storia della Religione Cyrenaica* (1932), pp. 147 ff. Asclepius himself was revered at Cyrene and at Balagrae (the modern Sidi Rafa near Cyrene). O. Bates, op. cit. p. 185 (who refers also to a Semitic cult in Balagrae) ; J. Hamilton, *Wanderings in North Africa* (1856), pp. 122 f.; F. Halbherr, in *Africa Italiana*, iv, Nos. 3-4 ; E. S. G. Robinson, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Cyrenaica* (1927), p. ccxxiii ; and L. Vitali, op. cit. pp. 36 ff.

[3] Cf. the Harmachis mentioned in Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, etc., iii, pp. 194, 214 f.

[4] The five phyles are frequently mentioned in texts on Ptolemaic statues. Cf. *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, xxxii, pp. 64 f. = E. A. W. Budge, *Guide to the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Egyptian Rooms* (1922), p. 133, Exhibition No. 122, from Beirut ; and M. A. Murray, in *Ancient Egypt* (1917), pp. 146 ff. = British Museum Collection No. 65443, statue of Sma-tauy. Thanks are due to Mr. I. E. S. Edwards of the British Museum and to Mr. V. Bothmer of Boston Museum of Fine Arts for some of these references.

Canopic Decree, it seems most probable that the Tolmeita statue dates from the reign of Ptolemy III and of his wife Berenice II,[1] who are of course the "Two Benefactor-Gods".

A certain Demetrius, a soldier from Cyrene, who married an Egyptian wife named Thasis, had by her two daughters, who bore both Greek and Egyptian names; the daughters dedicated a sanctuary at Crocodilopolis in the Faiyoum to the hippopotamus-goddess Thoueris in honour of Ptolemy III and Berenice II.[2] A part of a statue of Thoueris (sometimes identified by the Greeks with Athena) was found at Taposiris Magna—see Map—and I believe the hieroglyphic inscription on it gives some hitherto unknown Egyptian titles of Berenice II.[3] Under Ptolemy IV (221-203 B.C.) there were many thousands of Cyrenaicans enrolled in the new army which he had formed, some of them in the cavalry under Polycrates, three thousand of them armed like Macedonians under the commander Ammonius of Barce.[4] In 162 B.C. an Egyptian named Sympetisis, whose Greek name was Ptolemy, was appointed viceroy of Cyrenaica to govern during the absence in Rome of Ptolemy the Brother (afterwards Ptolemy VII).[5]

To the Ptolemaic era of Cyrenaica belong a number of small bronze coins which show on the reverse the head-dress of the goddess Isis, a composite one consisting of the horns of a cow,[6] the solar disk, and two lofty plumes. The head-dress of Isis is said to have disappeared from the coinage of the country after 110 B.C.[7]

In the Roman era there were at least two temples of Isis in Cyrene, one near the Temple of Apollo, and the other in the market-place. From the latter sanctuary came a rather large coloured statue of a priestess of Isis with the head of Isis from another statue inserted in place of the original head.[8]

[1] The queen was a Cyrenaican, being the daughter of Magas a former viceroy of Cyrene.

[2] G. Lefebvre, in *Annales du Service*, ix, pp. 231 ff.

[3] See my *History of Ancient Cyrenaica*, p. 40, for the inscription.

[4] E. Bevan, *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty* (1927), p. 227.

[5] Op. cit. p. 300.

[6] Cf. Herodotus, iv, 186.

[7] E. Bevan, op. cit. p. 329.

[8] *Notizario Archeologico*, Fasc. iv (1927), p. 186. A view of the Isis temple in the sanctuary of Apollo is given in my *History of Ancient Cyrenaica*, Pl. V.

In the coastal region of the Western Desert there are the remains of cisterns belonging to the sites which flourished there during the Ptolemaic and Roman periods; the cisterns must evidently have still been in use in some of the stations which are stated to have been dotted all along the road between Cyrene and Alexandria when Nicetas, the general of Heraclius, began his victorious march on Alexandria in A.D. 609.[1]

Finally, I may mention that when working on the Meydum Pyramid site on behalf of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania I came across a Roman fortified wall of brick, several kilometres long, which ran from the ancient Kerke Harbour on the Nile across the Libyan desert to Philadelphia in the Faiyoum. This wall, which has rounded buttresses on its northern side, evidently protected the road (on its southern side) along which traffic passed to and from the Faiyoum.[2]

ADDENDUM A

LISTS OF PHARAONIC FORTS PROTECTING THE DESERT ROAD AND THE DELTA AGAINST THE LIBYANS

These lists summarize the names of the Anti-Libyan forts mentioned in my first article and the present one and give the names of certain forts not mentioned before. The Pharaonic variant names (where such exist) for each fort are arranged chronologically. Details of the inscriptions found in the forts will be published elsewhere. Other forts may still be discovered along the sea-coast.

[1] Op. cit. p. 50; A. J. Butler, *Arab Conquest of Egypt* (1902), pp. 428 f. It may here be added that identifications of classical sites in the Western Desert with modern sites, details of Roman roads in the same region, and information about the eparchies of Libya, are given by J. Ball, *Egypt in the Classical Geographers*. For further details about Cyrenaica and the Western Desert the reader may consult also A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (1937), pp. 351 ff., 484 ff. [Paraetonium itself—see my first article, p. 141—one of the four Greek cities of Egypt, the others were Alexandria, Naucratis and Ptolemais, is mentioned in pp. 307, 311, 344, 472, 539] and my *History of Ancient Cyrenaica*. Another Nymphaeum (see p. 135 of my first article) is in the side of the rocky hill near the Apollo sanctuary in Cyrene.

[2] Kerke Harbour was to the north of the pyramid; the wall itself recalls the late stone defensive wall against the Libyans at Taposiris Magna. See my first article, p. 135. I published a short account of the Meydum excavations in *The Museum Journal* (Philadelphia), xxii, No. 1, 1931; my complete account will presently be issued by the University Museum. Incidentally, some Roman forts in south-west Cyrenaica are described by R. G. Goodchild in *Antiquity*, No. 99 (September 1951), pp. 131 ff.

1. Sea-coast Forts.

The list of the main forts I identified in the coastal region of Thehenu land (eastern section of Western Desert)—running roughly westwards in the following order from the fortress of Rhacotis—is now given, modern names being in capitals and Pharaonic ones in italics. See Map, Nos. i-vi, also inset for Nos. i-iii.

(i) MAREA,[1] south of Lake Mareotis; *Town of [Rameses III] Repulser of Themehu* (perhaps an error for *Thehenu*); *Town of [Rameses III] which is by the Mountain of Up-Ta; Meret*, "The Lake [Town]" (Thirtieth Dynasty).

(ii) EL-GHARBANIYAT, "Westerly(?)", also south of the lake but south-west of Marea.

(iii) EL-BORDAN, at extreme western end of the lake; *Hamu*, "Place of Catching Fish"; evidently the Chimo of Ptolemy the Geographer.[2]

(iv) SITE OF UNKNOWN NAME between Nos. iii and v. Part of inscription of Rameses II found here.

(v) EL-ALAMEIN, "The Two Way-Marks".

(vi) ZAWYET UM EL-RAKHAM, "The Hospice of the Mother of the Vultures"; *Hut-ka*, "House of the Bull"; Apis.[3]

For further details of these forts see my first article.

2. Delta Forts.

The list of the main forts which ran roughly south-eastwards from Rhacotis and guarded the western part of the Delta is as follows, commencing with the name of the fort next after Rhacotis. See Map, Nos. 1-6, also inset for No. 1.

(1) EZBET ABOU-SHAWISH, "The Village of the Father of the Soldier"; *Castle of Merenptah which is in Per-Ir; Hut-Shā* (Rameses III) and *Hut-en-Shā* (Thirtieth Dynasty), both names meaning "Castle of Sand".[4]

(2) EL-KURUM EL-TUWAL, "The Long Vineyards".

(3) KARM ABOU-GIRG, "The Vineyard of the Father of George".

(4) KOM EL-ABQ'AIN, *Keben* (Thirtieth Dynasty).[5]

(5) KOM FIRIN, *Yuyu*(?).[6]

(6) KOM EL-HISN, "The Mound of the Fort"; *Imau*, "Palm-trees", capital of the *Libyan* or *Third Nome* of the Delta.

[1] In my first article I indicated that Psammetichus II and also the Persians had to keep garrisons at Marea.

[2] It is of course true that the initial *ch* does not usually interchange with the initial *ḥ*, but we must remember that both Hamu and Chimo were certainly in Mareotis. We may assume that Ptolemy followed a form current in his own time.

[3] The author of *Periplus of Scylax of Caryanda* (a work, composed about 350 B.C., to which the name of Scylax—cf. Herodotus, iv, 44—was attached merely for the purpose of attracting attention by its celebrity) says that in his time the government of the Egyptians extended to Apis, a town which as we have already seen was also on the boundary between Thehenu land and Lebu land.

[4] Variants seem to be *Iat-shā; Temple of Min, Lord of the Sand;* and *Neshi*. H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des Noms géographiques*, i, p. 33, ii, p. 84, iii, p. 105.

[5] G. Daressy, in *Annales du Service*, xvi, pp. 236 f.

[6] [F. Ll. Griffith in Petrie and] Gardiner, *Naukratis*, ii, p. 80; cf. also i, pp. 94 f.

Either No. 2 or No. 3 may be the site variously named *Castle of [Rameses II] beloved like Atum on the Western Waters* (scarab text), *Fortress of the West* (Merenptah), and *House of [Rameses III], the Town on the Western Canal.* See my first article for further details about these forts and the famous canal.[1]

ADDENDUM B

GEOGRAPHICAL SITES, ETC., IN THE LIBYAN NOME

I have until now reserved for special treatment the *Libyan Nome* (the variant names for which are given in my first article), a nome which originally was inside part of the western border of the Delta but was later extended to include at least the district of Mareotis.[2] The following references give a list of the geographical sites in the nome, mentioned in the hieroglyphic texts. The material is drawn from H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des Noms géographiques*, with some identifications and notes of my own ; the references are to Gauthier's work.

THE CAPITAL (modern name *Kom el-Hisn*) :—

1. IMAU,[3] " The Palm-Trees ", i, p. 70.
2. TEMPLE OF THE LADY OF THE PALM-TREES (*i.e.* Hathor), II, pp. 91, 93.
3. ATEF-HEDJ(?), i, p. 14.
4. MANU, " City of the Land of the Setting Sun ", iii, p. 7.
5. SHA-MENU, v, p. 103.

VARIOUS DISTRICTS, ETC. (excluding the six Delta forts mentioned in ADDENDUM A) :—

1. IAT-DJEB, town of the *pehu*, " back-lands ", near a canal named *Ān*, I, p. 36.
2. BĀH-F, ii, p. 17.
3. PEHU-IANRU, marshes of rushes sacred to Hathor, ii, p. 146.
4. PER-MANU,[4] " Temple of the Land of the Setting Sun ", ii, p. 82.
5. PER-REMA, ii, pp. 106 f.
6. FEKAT, ii, pp. 160, 162.
7. RAKAIM, iii, p. 128.

[1] There was also a local hydraulic installation and vineyard called *The Great Basin of [Rameses II] in the Domain of Amen which is on the Waters of the Sun-God.* The cultivated strip of land at the west of the Delta protected by the Delta forts and extending as far south as Memphis was called " The Western Border ". H. Gauthier, op. cit. iii, p. 133.

[2] For the suggested limits of the nome see G. Daressy, in *Revue de l'Égypte Ancienne*, ii, map opposite p. 120. For further maps showing some of the sites mentioned in our two articles see Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, etc., iv, map opposite p. 270, vii, map VII ; A. de Cosson, *Mareotis* (1935), map at end.

[3] In late times the inhabitants of the capital were known as *Imautiu*. H. Gauthier, op. cit. i, p. 70.

[4] In the Graeco-Roman period *Manu*, " The Land of the Setting Sun ", was also a designation of Libya. Erman-Grapow, *Wörterbuch*, ii, p. 29.

8. HERY-IB-SET-HUT-KA, a town, iv, p. 39.
9. HES-IRIT-EN-PTAH, ii, p. 157.
10. HES-UR, a town(?) of the Fourth Dynasty, iv, p. 41.
11. HUT-SEKHAUT-HER, "The Castle of She who Nourishes Horus [with her Milk]"—a reference to the cow-goddess Hathor, iv, pp. 114, 129.
12. SEBTI-PA-ĀFAIU, "Wall of the Bedouin Camp", a fortified place, v, p. 23. Cf. Erman-Grapow, *Wörterbuch*, i, p. 182.
13. SET-ERDI-KAU, v, p. 83.
14. SHA-AMEN, "Vineyard of Amen", renowned for its wines, v, p. 97.
15. SHEDEN, a town, v, p. 151.
16. TABU, a town, vi, p. 13.
17. TA-DEBU, a sanctuary of the god Sebek, vi, pp. 39, 89.

CANALS, ETC. :—

1. ĀN (perhaps also the name of a "backlands"), i, pp. 36, 144, 145. Cf. iv, p. 55. Evidently the Canopic Branch of the Nile,[1] for Naucratis is said to have been built "on the bank of *Ān*", iii, p. 75.
2. KHONS, perhaps connected Lake Mareotis with the Canopic Branch, i, p. 12, iv, p. 177, vi, p. 150.

SANCTUARIES :—

The names for the Temple of Osiris (in the capital city), where was conserved the right thigh of the god, are as follows :

1. IAT-MENT, i, p. 26.
2. AKHET-IMENTI, "Horizon of the West", i, p. 8.
3. WĀBET, i, pp. 185 f. Cf. also E. A. W. Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, ii (1904), p. 127.
4. PER-AKHET-IMENTI, ii, p. 50.
5. HUT-MENT, "Castle of the [Right] Thigh", iv, p. 74.
6. HUT-MENT-UNEMI, "Castle of the Right Thigh", iv, p. 74.
7. HUT-AHET, "Castle of the Cow (= Hathor)", iv, p. 51.
8. HUT-UR, iv, p. 225.

Two other sanctuaries in the nome were :

1. DEB, dedicated to the god Sebek, vi, p. 89.
2. MAĀTI, dedicated to the sacred trees of the nome, iii, p. 2.[2]

[1] Another hieroglyphic name for the Canopic Branch was *Iteru-āa*, *The Great River*, the ὁ μέγας ποταμός of Ptolemy the Geographer. H. Gauthier, op. cit. i, p. 119. It ceased to function about the twelfth century A.D.

[2] *Additional Notes* :—(1) The Cyrene Nymphaem (p. 497) apparently belonged to the female votaries of Artemis. (2) For the Libyan oases, c.f. Porter and Moss, op. cit. vii, p.277 f. (3) My *History of Ancient Cyrenaica* (1948) is mainly intended to give a summary of the history of the country as well as an account of the Egyptian monuments at Tolmeita ; the publications of the Italian authorities must be consulted for details of their archaeological finds as a whole.

JOHN BRIGHT AND THE CRIMEAN WAR

By A. J. P. TAYLOR, M.A.

FELLOW OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD AND UNIVERSITY LECTURER IN INTERNATIONAL HISTORY

JOHN BRIGHT was the greatest of all parliamentary orators. He had many political successes. Along with Richard Cobden, he conducted the campaign which led to the repeal of the Corn Laws. He did more than any other man to prevent the intervention of this country on the side of the South during the American Civil War; and he headed the reform agitation of 1867 which brought the industrial working-class within the pale of the constitution. It was Bright who made possible the Liberal Party of Gladstone, Asquith, and Lloyd George; and the alliance between middle-class idealism and trade-unionism, which he promoted, still lives in the present-day Labour Party. Yet his noblest work, as certainly his greatest speeches, were made in a campaign which failed—a campaign which brought him much unpopularity and led finally to a mental collapse: his opposition to the Crimean War. His attitude caused him to lose his parliamentary seat at Manchester in 1857 and so severed his political connection with this City for ever. Bright blamed the merchant princes of Manchester for his defeat; and it is therefore especially fitting that we should look again at Bright's stand during the Crimean War on a foundation established to commemorate one of the greatest of these merchant princes.

I have personal reasons, too, for this gesture of atonement. At Bright's old school, where I was educated, there was an annual prize for a Bright oration; and I have heard his great speeches against the Crimean War recited a score of times in the school-library which bears his name. Myself, as usual, in revolt against my surroundings, I sought only something to Bright's discredit and proposed to offer one of his speeches against the Factory Acts. But these were not included in his collected speeches; and I was not used, as I am now, to going

through the columns of old Hansards. I therefore remained silent; and it is only now, thirty years later, that I come to repeat the greatest sentences ever uttered in any parliamentary assembly. I am not, however, concerned to defend Bright, much as I now admire him. I have also learnt to admire the diplomatic skill and judgement of "the aged charlatan", Palmerston. Bright said of him:

> I regard him as a man who has experience, but who with experience has not gained wisdom—as a man who has age, but who, with age, has not the gravity of age, and who, now occupying the highest seat of power, has—and I say it with pain—not appeared influenced by a due sense of the responsibility that belongs to that elevated position.

I do not think that any historian, who has examined the record of Palmerston's foreign policy, would now endorse that judgement, though he would still be struck by Palmerston's jocular self-confidence and even occasionally by his levity. It is my intention—and I can say in all sincerity that I did not know when I started how the conclusion would work out—to examine Bright's criticism of the Crimean War in the light of later events and of the more detailed knowledge which we now possess, rather than to vindicate or condemn him.

When I began this enquiry, I was struck and indeed surprised by the material for my theme. I have some experience of public agitation on issues of foreign policy. I have sat on committees for Aid to Spain or Czechoslovakia or for Anglo-Soviet friendship; I can remember vaguely the pacifist movement of the First World War. I expected to find the same hubbub of public meetings, pamphlets, letters to the press, articles in newspapers and periodicals, which serve as the undertone for debates in Parliament. Gladstone used all these weapons in his attacks on Disraeli's eastern policy only twenty years later. Indeed, he did better than we. He used to stick his head out of the railway-carriage and address waiting crowds at every station he passed through. Here was Bright engaged in the greatest political conflict of his career; yet he used none of the means that we should think essential. He did not write a pamphlet; he did not address a single letter to the newspapers. He wrote one letter to Absalom Watkin, designed for publica-

tion and stating his case against the war, on 29 October 1854, when the war had already been raging for six months. He attended in all three public meetings, over a period of nearly two years; and all in Manchester. They were designed to explain his attitude to his constituents, not to appeal to public opinion. The first, held on 18 December 1854, was organized not by Bright, but to declare against him. Neither he nor his opponents could get a hearing. At the second, on 5 April 1855, he spoke for an hour. The third was held on 28 January 1856, after the peace preliminaries had been signed. Bright, speaking for two hours, defended his past conduct and collapsed at the end. Thus he made one public speech against the war while it was on; and this was to a limited audience.

We have therefore to look solely at Bright's speeches in the House of Commons. And here is another surprising thing. He never spoke against the war before it was declared. Let me refresh your memory with some dates. The diplomatic conflict between Russia and the Western Powers, Great Britain and France, began at Constantinople in May 1853. Russian forces occupied the mouth of the Danube in July. The allied fleets passed the Straits in October; they entered the Black Sea in December. Throughout all this time there are only two passing references to the crisis in Bright's diary, one at the end of May, one in July. In October he addressed a conference of the Peace Society, but mainly on generalities with little reference to immediate events. Early in 1854, the crisis grew graver; on 27 March war was declared. Again Bright remained silent. On 15 March he wrote a letter to Lord Aberdeen, the Prime Minister, not for publication, arguing in favour of peace. His first speech was on 31 March, four days after the declaration of war. It was a speech to clear his conscience, not to change the course of policy. "I am unwilling to lose this opportunity . . . of clearing myself from any portion of the responsibility which attaches to those who support the policy which the Government has adopted." At the end, he strikes the same note:

> For myself, I do not trouble myself whether my conduct in Parliament is popular or not. I care only that it shall be wise and just as regards the

permanent interests of my country, and I despise from the bottom of my heart the man who speaks a word in favour of this war, or of any war which he believes might have been avoided, merely because the press and a portion of the people urge the Government to enter into it.

Bright did not speak again on the war until 22 December 1854. This speech, too, was vindication, not advocacy—vindication this time more of Cobden, who had been attacked by Lord John Russell, than of himself. And there is the same note of clearing his conscience:

Let it not be said that I am alone in my condemnation of this war, and of this incapable and guilty Administration. And, even if I were alone, if mine were a solitary voice, raised amid the din of arms and the clamour of a venal press, I should have the consolation I have to-night—and which I trust will be mine to the last moment of my existence—the priceless consolation that no word of mine has tended to promote the squandering of my country's treasure or the spilling of one single drop of my country's blood.

In February 1855, negotiations for peace—abortive, as it turned out—were opened at Vienna. On 22 February, Bright made a short speech, appealing for an immediate armistice if the negotiations showed promise of success. Though this speech contains his most celebrated oratorical passage—the Angel of Death has been abroad throughout the land—it had a practical aim; and for once Bright addressed both Palmerston and Lord John Russell in conciliatory, friendly terms. Finally, when the negotiations at Vienna had failed, Bright spoke again on 7 June. He argued that the proposed peace-terms would have been satisfactory and that there was no purpose in continuing the war. But this time he did not merely protest or clear his conscience. He appealed to the House to revolt against Palmerston's government and against the bellicose press:

If every man in this House, who doubts the policy that is being pursued, would boldly say so in this House and out of it, it would not be in the power of the press to mislead the people as it has done for the last twelve months. . . . We are the depositaries of the power and the guardians of the interests of a great nation and of an ancient monarchy. Why should we not fully measure our responsibility? Why should we not disregard the small-minded ambition that struggles for place? and why should we not, by a faithful, just, and earnest policy, restore, as I believe we may, tranquility to Europe and prosperity to the country so dear to us?

Thus Bright spoke in all only four times on the war in a period of nearly two years. Only his first speech and his letter to Absalom Watkin stated his case against the war at length. Indeed we may say that his reputation as an opponent of the war was gained as much by silent and sustained disapproval as by his speeches. Before I discuss his criticism of the war, I should like to turn aside for a moment to consider why Bright was relatively so inactive—so much more silent, for example, than at the time of the American Civil War a few years later. In part, he felt it hopeless to contend against the war-fever of the press. Cobden felt this even more strongly. He said in 1862:

> I was so convinced of the utter uselessness of raising one's voice in opposition to war when it has once begun, that I made up my mind that so long as I was in political life, should a war again break out between England and a great Power, I would never open my mouth upon the subject from the time the first gun was fired until the peace was made.

This is a surprising tribute to the power of the press, the more surprising when one reflects that the total newspaper-reading public in England did not at that time number 100,000. Perhaps this is itself the explanation. In 1854 Bright sat for a middle-class constituency and thought only of his middle-class voters. His only public speech was an explanation to his constituents, not a general appeal. After 1858, when he sat for Birmingham, he addressed himself to working-class opinion, regardless either of the middle-class voters or the middle-class press. Indeed, it was the Crimean War which helped to set Bright on the democratic path. To adapt George III's phrase to William Pitt, it taught him to look elsewhere than the House of Commons, or even the electorate, for the will of the people.

Of course, this was not new to Bright. He was always more of a man of the people than Cobden. Cobden lived in Sussex, a failure as a business-man. Bright never moved from Rochdale, next door to his mill. Their paths diverged after the repeal of the Corn Laws. Free Trade had always been an international cause for Cobden—witness his triumphal tour of Europe in 1846; and he went on to preach international arbitration and disarmament. Bright had been interested in the practical issue

of cheap bread ; and he turned from Free Trade to Parliamentary Reform—a course of which Cobden disapproved. This led Bright largely to ignore foreign affairs. It is no accident that Cobden spoke in the great Don Pacifico debate in 1850 and Bright did not—it was not his subject.

The early Radicals thought in terms of criticizing the established government, not of superseding it. Witness again Cobden's remark that he could have had a great career in the United States, but that it was useless for him to harbour ambition in aristocratic England. Bright and Cobden assumed that England was fated to endure aristocratic misrule for many years —Cobden supposed at least during his lifetime. But Bright gradually moved to the more constructive position that aristocratic rule could be ended and democracy take its place. His last Crimean War speech contains a first statement of this new attitude. Yet, even now, it was the promise of a political leader of the right views from within the closed circle which gave him greater hope. This leader was Gladstone, after his resignation from Palmerston's government at the beginning of 1855. Here was the first hint of the alliance between Gladstone and Bright which triumphed in 1868—an alliance in which Gladstone was the statesman and Bright the agitator.

Bright therefore learnt his way slowly in foreign affairs, beginning with a few radical prejudices and gradually examining the practical issues. Observe : I do not say Quaker prejudices. Though Bright spoke often—as anyone would—of the horrors and bloodshed of war, he never used pacifist arguments against it. Indeed, he was not a pacifist. He supported the forcible suppression of the Indian mutiny ; and he urged the North to continue the American Civil War to decisive victory, when even Cobden favoured compromise. Bright doubted, I think, the relevance of Quakerism to public life. Dr. Trevelyan remarks casually that Bright never spoke in Meeting, but draws no moral from it. Perhaps only someone of Quaker stock and upbringing can appreciate its significance. The Society of Friends was still " quietist ", concerned with the inner light, not with social duty ; and, in addition, there was a distinction between " ministers " and other members of the Society which has now almost dis-

appeared. I do not say that Bright ever ceased to regard himself as a full member of the Society ; but he thought that, by entering politics, he had made himself the humblest of members and, conversely, he kept Quakerism out of his politics. Or rather, though he kept out Quaker principles, he used Quaker methods. His speeches, for all their oratory, rely on fact and argument as much as on emotional appeal. As Bright said in answer to Palmerston : " I am not afraid of discussing the war with the noble Lord on his own principles. I understand the Blue Books as well as he "—a claim that was fully justified.

Though Bright did not condemn war from pacificism, he certainly condemned it on grounds of economy. His Crimean War speeches all speak of the disturbance to trade and the increase of taxes. He has often been blamed for this. Tennyson wrote at the time of

> The broad-brimmed hawker of holy things,
> Whose ear is cramm'd with his cotton, and rings
> Even in dreams to the chink of his pence.

I should add, in fairness to Tennyson, that there is much other internal evidence in *Maud* to suggest that the hero, or narrator, of it was mad. Sir Llewellyn Woodward, who refers to " the prosy and, at times, repellent religiosity of his letters and diaries ", discredits Bright with the comic quotation : " Our carpet trade grievously injured by war raising the price of tow." Sir Llewellyn Woodward, I suspect, had heard that Bright was in the cotton trade and did not appreciate that John Bright and Bros. manufactured carpets, as they still do. What therefore more natural than that he should make a business note in his private diary ? Bright showed during the American Civil War that he could rise above arguments, addressed to his economic interests or those of Lancashire. The story of Bright's commercialism, which brings together not only Tennyson and Sir Llewellyn Woodward but such strange companions as Palmerston and Karl Marx, springs largely—as Bright himself said—from the inability to answer his more serious arguments.

In any case, it is well to bear in mind the composition of the House of Commons, in which Bright delivered his speeches. Neither of the two great parties—the Conservatives under

Disraeli nor the Whigs led, if that is not too dignified a term, by Lord John Russell—neither had a majority. The balance was held by the Peelites—the remnant of those Conservatives who had followed Peel over Free Trade in 1846—and the radicals. These last two had much in common so far as economic doctrine was concerned, despite their difference of social background. The government of Lord Aberdeen, which began the Crimean War, was a coalition of Peelites and Whigs, with one radical member, Molesworth, and possessing radical support. Palmerston's government, which took its place in 1855, was Whig and radical, the Peelites in uneasy and discredited neutrality. To whom then was Bright to appeal, if he was to achieve a practical effect at all? Not to the Conservatives; for, though they claimed to oppose Palmerston, Bright had an incurable distrust of Disraeli. Remember his reply when Disraeli said to him after the "Angel of Death" speech: "I would give all I ever had to have made that speech you made just now." "Well, you might have made it if you had been honest." He could not appeal to the Whigs. He regarded Russell and Palmerston as the principal authors of the war and directed his main arguments against the Whig doctrine of the Balance of Power. Besides, the Whigs had a long record of frivolity and incapacity in regard to finance.

Hence, his practical object was to persuade the Peelites and radicals to take advantage of their balancing position. They could bring the Whigs to heel if they wished to do so. His economic arguments were designed for the Peelites, as were his recollections of Peel himself. "I recollect when Sir Robert Peel addressed the House on a dispute which threatened hostilities with the United States—I recollect the gravity of his countenance, the solemnity of his tone, his whole demeanour showing that he felt in his soul the responsibility that rested on him." This appeal certainly had its effect on Gladstone, particularly after his resignation from office in February 1855. But Bright had to appeal especially to the radicals and Free Trade liberals—his former allies who had now abandoned their principles of economy for the sake of fighting a war of liberation against Russia. This is an essential point, one lost sight of in

later years, when the Eastern Question came to be regarded as bound up with the route to India. The route to India had nothing to do with the Crimean War. The Danube, not the Suez Canal, was the only waterway involved. The Crimean War was fought much more against Russia than in favour of Turkey. And it was fought not only in the name of the Balance of Power. Russia was regarded as the tyrant of Europe, the main prop of "the Holy Alliance"; and English radicals thought that they were now getting their own back for the Russian intervention which had helped to defeat the revolutions of 1848. The veteran radical, Joseph Hume, who had moved a reduction in the army estimates every year since 1823, voted for the estimates in 1854. There could be no more striking evidence of the radical conversion.

The radical crusading spirit against Russia could be illustrated in a thousand ways. I will limit myself to one quotation from a correspondent of Cobden's:

> This, then, is my creed. I look upon Russia as the personification of Despotism—the apostle of Legitimacy. In the present state of Poland and Hungary we see her work. . . . Such a power can be curbed only by war, and must be so curbed sooner or later, if Europe is to remain free. . . . If we believe that God wills the liberty and happiness of mankind, how can we doubt that we are doing God's work in fighting for liberty against aggression?

Perhaps I should add that this is a genuine quotation from a letter of November 1855, and is not taken from yesterday's newspaper. Bright's principal arguments were directed against this radical enthusiasm. Why was he not affected by it? It was, I think, a lesson learnt from Cobden. Cobden had always preached non-intervention in European affairs. What is more, he had always looked with a friendly eye on Russian expansion. In a pamphlet which he wrote as early as 1836, he asked: "Can any one doubt that, if the Government of St. Petersburg were transferred to the shores of the Bosphorus, a splendid and substantial European city would, in less than twenty years, spring up in the place of those huts which now constitute the capital of Turkey?" In this pamphlet Cobden even challenged the radical predilection for Poland. Russian rule, he wrote, "has been followed by an increase in the amount of peace, wealth,

liberty, civilization and happiness, enjoyed by the great mass of the people. . . . The Polish people, though far from prosperous, have enjoyed many benefits by their change of government.

Bright had not always shared Cobden's view. As a young man, he wrote a poem in favour of Poland—a very bad poem—which he once quoted with startling effect in a parliamentary speech. But he came in time to accept Cobden's belief that Free Trade would civilize every country, including Russia, and that political freedom would follow of itself. He wrote to Cobden in 1851, at the time of Kossuth's visit to England:

> I shall go against any notion of *fighting* for Hungary or any other country. . . . By perfecting our own institutions, by promoting the intelligence, morality and health of our own country, and by treating all other nations in a just and generous and courteous manner, we shall do more for humanity than by commissioning Palmerston to regenerate Hungary by fleets in the Black Sea and the Baltic.

He struck the same note in April 1854: "they confound the blowing up of ships and the slaughter of thousands with the cause of freedom, as if there were any connection in matters wholly apart". This was a clear doctrine of non-intervention, applicable to all wars of intervention anywhere at any time—applicable, for instance, as much to Italy as to the Balkans. But, in regard to the Crimean War, Bright did not really take a purely neutral attitude. Not only did he think that nothing good could be achieved by a victory over Russia; he thought that good would be achieved by a Russian victory over Turkey. He dismissed all claims that the Ottoman Empire had reformed, or was capable of reform; and he referred to "the natural solution"—"which is, that the Mahomedan power in Europe should eventually succumb to the growing power of the Christian population of the Turkish territories". Observe that he does not refer to the national conflict between the Balkan peoples and their Ottoman rulers; and indeed he seems to have been unaware at this time that Turkey-in-Europe was inhabited by peoples of different, indeed conflicting, nationalities. He anticipated the establishment in Constantinople of "a Christian state". The Christian population would "grow more rapidly in numbers, in industry, in wealth, in intelligence, and in political

power ". Why did Bright believe this? He knew no more about Turkey than anyone else. No independent reporters had visited Turkey; and Bright took his information on conditions there from the Blue Books. His faith in the Balkan Christians rested solely on dogma—above all, on the dogma that they were more capable of absorbing the lessons of Free Trade. The dogma was well-founded. All the same, there is a striking contrast with the discussions on the Eastern Question later in the century—discussions which were based on reliable first-hand information and on awareness of the national issue.

Bright claimed to approach the Crimean War with detachment; in reality he came to it with his mind made up. First he was against the war; then he discovered the arguments to justify his opposition. But this is perhaps to anticipate what should be a conclusion. Let me turn to the arguments which he used. It will, I think, be convenient to put them into two categories, though Bright did not make this logical distinction: arguments against any war over the Eastern Question—perhaps even against any war at all—and arguments against this particular war, arguments based on the Blue Books which recounted the diplomatic events of 1853. Incidentally, here is a practical reason why Bright only spoke so late in the day. The first Blue Book was published on 17 March 1854. Bright spoke against the war a fortnight later. He could not have made his case earlier. This speech gives Bright's main arguments against the war; and I shall analyse it in detail.

He begins, quite rightly, with the French demands of 1852 in favour of the Latin Church at Jerusalem. Then, he says, Russia " required (and this I understand to be the real ground of the quarrel) that Turkey should define by treaty, or convention, or by a simple note, or memorandum, what was conceded, and what were the rights of Russia ". Turkey, he insists, was decaying; and Russia was bound to " interfere, or have a strong interest, in the internal policy of the Ottoman Empire ". This Russian interference was, of course, the mission of Prince Menshikov to Constantinople. Here Bright makes his first substantial point. On 5 May 1853, according to him, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, British ambassador at Constantinople, insisted that the Turks

should refuse the Russian demands. "He urged upon the Turkish Government the necessity of resistance to any of the demands of Russia, promising the armed assistance of England, whatever consequences might ensue." He makes the same point in the letter to Absalom Watkin. "But for the English Minister at Constantinople and the Cabinet at home the dispute would have settled itself, and the last note of Prince Menchikoff would have been accepted. . . . Lord Stratford de Redcliffe held private interviews with the Sultan, insisted on his rejection of all terms of accommodation with Russia, and promised him the armed assistance of England if war should arise."

Here then is the start of Bright's case. The Turks wanted to sign the Menshikov note; the French government did not object; "it was through the interference of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe—acting, I presume, in accordance with instructions from our Cabinet, and promising the intervention of the fleets—that the rejection of that note was secured". On the basis of Bright's argument Stratford de Redcliffe has been branded with responsibility for the war from that day to this. But does our later knowledge confirm the accusation? I am afraid it does not. Firstly, there was never a secret interview of 5 May; and Bright himself subsequently dropped the story. Far from encouraging the Turks to resist, Stratford advised them to meet the Russian demands fully over the Holy Places; he took a different line only when Menshikov demanded the recognition of a Russian protectorate over all Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman Empire. The Turks would have resisted this claim with or without Stratford's advice—which was, in any case, directed to compromise, not rejection; and even now he gave them no promise at all of British support. Moreover, Russia's demands were not as innocent as Bright made out. Menshikov wanted to make Russia supreme at Constantinople—"to end the infernal dictatorship of this Redcliffe" and to put that of Russia in its place. The Russian claims were based on an interpretation of the treaty of Kutchuk Kainardji, which the Russian experts themselves knew to be false; and in the following year the Tsar Nicholas I admitted that he had not realized what he was doing. "His conduct in 1853", he said, "would have

been different but for the error into which he had been led." The Russians were, in fact, demanding a protectorate over Turkey; and the Turks were bound to refuse, if they were to keep their independence at all. Of course, Great Britain could have washed her hands of Turkish independence; but this was not Bright's case at this stage. He claimed that the Russian demands were harmless. Stratford judged better.

At all events, Menshikov failed. Russia broke off relations with Turkey and, in July, occupied the Danubian principalities. Bright called this "impolitic and immoral" in his letter to Absalom Watkin; he did not condemn it in his parliamentary speeches. The other Powers—England, France, Austria, and Prussia—then drew up in August "the Vienna note" which they offered as a settlement of the quarrel. It was accepted by the Russians in, says Bright, "the most frank and unreserved manner". The Turks had not been shown the Note beforehand. When it reached them, they saw at once the interpretation that Russia would place on it and refused it. This certainly reflected sadly on the diplomatic gifts of the negotiators at Vienna. But surely the question is—were the Turks right in their suspicions? Nesselrode, the Russian Chancellor, proved that they were. Early in September, he issued an interpretation of the Vienna Note, claiming that it gave to Russia the full protectorate over the Orthodox Christians allegedly stipulated in the treaty of Kutchuk Kainardji. What does Bright say to this? Merely, "I very much doubt whether Count Nesselrode placed any meaning upon the Note which it did not fairly warrant, and it is impossible to say whether he really differed at all from the actual intentions of the four Ambassadors at Vienna". Again, "this circular could make no real difference in the note itself". Now this was being more Russian than the Russian themselves. In October the tsar met Francis Joseph, Emperor of Austria, at Olomouc—the place which was then called Olmütz. He confessed that Nesselrode had made a "forced interpretation" and now offered to withdraw it. In other words, the Russians had tried to cheat, and the Turks had caught them out; but no one would deduce this from Bright's speech.

The meeting at Olomouc offered the one serious chance of

avoiding war. Nicholas I was alarmed and in a conciliatory mood; he withdrew, for the time being, the demands that he had previously made. The British government rejected his offer; they insisted that the Russian troops should be withdrawn from the principalities; and, when Turkey declared war independently a couple of weeks later, they allowed themselves to be dragged into war on her side. Bright had a strong case here. He would have said to the Turks: "If you persist in taking your own course, we cannot be involved in the difficulties to which it may give rise, but must leave you to take the consequences of your own acts." But he weakens this case irremediably when he says a few sentences previously: "It is impossible fairly to doubt the sincerity of the desire for peace manifested by the Emperor of Russia." This is just what it was possible to doubt from the record of the previous months. Desire for peace perhaps; but equally a desire to get his own way at Constantinople even at the risk of war. Bright failed to allow for the suspicions which Russian policy had caused and for the Russian aggressiveness which the hesitation and muddle of British policy encouraged. Indeed, the war would have been avoided if Great Britain had followed the resolute line advocated by Palmerston and Russell—whom Bright blamed for the war. The responsibility for the war lay with the pacific Lord Aberdeen, whom Bright admired; and Aberdeen later admitted it himself. Like King David, he refused to rebuild a church on his estates. "But the word of the Lord came to me, saying, Thou hast shed blood abundantly and hast made great war: thou shalt not build an house unto my name."

So much for Bright's criticism of the diplomatic background to the Crimean War. But his criticism did not stop at diplomatic detail; indeed, this was not much more than a *tour de force* designed to show that he could meet ministers on their own ground. In reality, Bright did not accept this ground; he rejected the basic assumptions of British diplomacy. The major part of his speech of 31 March 1854, shows this. He turns from the Vienna Note and the Olomouc meeting to challenge the doctrine of the balance of power. He has great fun quoting the opinions of the great Whigs—Burke, Fox, and Lord Holland—

against any idea of supporting Turkey ; opinions that must have much embarrassed Lord John Russell, the last of the great Whigs, yet an enthusiastic supporter of the Crimean War. Bright continues : " If this phrase of the ' balance of power ' is to be always an argument for war, the pretence for war will never be wanting, and peace can never be secure." " This whole notion of the ' balance of power ' is a mischievous delusion which has come down to us from past times ; we ought to drive it from our minds, and to consider the solemn question of peace or war on more clear, more definite, and on far higher principles than any that are involved in the phrase the ' balance of power '." This last sentence seems to promise that Bright will at any rate hint at an alternative foreign policy ; but he does not do so. He merely goes on analysing the excuses for the Crimean War and demolishing them.

The integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire? But Turkey cannot be independent with three foreign armies on her soil. If the government had wanted to preserve the independence of Turkey, they would have advised the Turks to accept either Menshikov's conditions or the Vienna Note. " I will not insult you by asking whether, under such circumstances, that ' integrity and independence ' would not have been a thousand times more secure than it is at this hour? " This was exactly the argument—if you will forgive a contemporary allusion—with which Lord Halifax justified the desertion of Czechoslovakia in 1938 : " I have always felt that to fight a war for one, two, or three years to protect or recreate something that you knew you could not directly protect, and probably could never recreate, did not make sense."

Next, what about curbing Russian aggression? Bright answers that it cannot be done. " Russia will be always there —always powerful, always watchful, and actuated by the same motives of ambition, either of influence or of territory, which are supposed to have moved her in past times." " It is a delusion to suppose that you can dismember Russia—that you can blot her from the map of Europe—that you can take guarantees from her, as some seem to imagine, as easily as you take bail from an offender, who would otherwise go to prison for

three months. England and France cannot do this with a stroke of the pen, and the sword will equally fail if the attempt be made."

Finally, " how are the interests of England involved in this question? . . . It is not a question of sympathy with any other State. . . . It is not my duty to make this country the knight-errant of the human race, and to take upon herself the protection of the thousand millions of human beings who have been permitted by the Creator of all things to people this planet." On the other hand, taxes have gone up, trade is injured, thousands of men are being killed. " My doctrine would have been non-intervention in this case. The danger of the Russian power was a phantom; the necessity of permanently upholding the Mahometan rule in Europe is an absurdity. . . . The evils of non-intervention were remote and vague, and could neither be weighed nor described in any accurate terms. The good we can judge something of already, by estimating the cost of a contrary policy." (These two sentences are from the letter to Absalom Watkin, but they fit in with the argument of Bright's speech.) Finally, Bright moves on to assert the general merits of non-intervention for this country " where her interests were not directly and obviously assailed ". If we had adopted non-intervention for the last seventy years :

> This country might have been a garden, every dwelling might have been of marble, and every person who treads its soil might have been sufficiently educated. We should indeed have had less of military glory. We might have had neither Trafalgar nor Waterloo; but we should have set the high example of a Christian nation, free in its institutions, courteous and just in its conduct towards all foreign States, and resting its policy on the unchangeable foundations of Christian morality.

Every orator must be forgiven something in his peroration.

The speech of 31 March 1854, which I have analysed at length gives Bright's considered case against the Crimean War. The two speeches of 22 December 1854 and of 23 February 1855, do not add anything to that case. The one, as I said earlier, was a defence of Cobden; the second urged an armistice during the negotiations at Vienna. We can leave them aside when considering Bright's views. If we were considering his oratory, it would be a different matter; for they contain his

most moving and also—a characteristic sometimes forgotten—his most humorous passages. The speech of 7 June 1855, however, raises some new points. In it Bright discusses not the causes of the war, but how it should end. I must turn aside to explain the diplomatic background. In the autumn of 1854 Austria—not herself a combatant, but wooed by the western allies—drafted "Four Points" as reasonable terms of peace. These Four Points were accepted by England and France in the hope of drawing Austria into the war; then they were accepted by Russia in the better hope of keeping her out. The four Powers met in conference at Vienna in March and April 1855 in order to define the "Four Points" more closely and to turn them into practical terms. There was no difficulty about three of them. Russia was to give up her protectorate of the Danubian principalities; the freedom of navigation of the Danube was to be secured; and the Christian populations of the Ottoman Empire were to be put under a general European guarantee, instead of under that of Russia. Incidentally, these three Points were already an answer to the assertion that war accomplishes nothing. Russia would never have agreed to them without the Crimean War. I don't venture to determine whether they were worth a war; but that is a different question.

The dispute at Vienna came over Point III. This provided that the Straits Convention of 1841 should be revised "in the interests of the Balance of Power". In other words, Turkey was to be given some sort of security against Russia's naval preponderance in the Black Sea. Lord John Russell, the English representative, and Drouyn de Lhuys, the French representative, went to Vienna with instructions that they could agree to one of two things: either the Russian fleet in the Black Sea should be limited, or the Black Sea should be neutralized altogether. Gorchakov, the Russian delegate at Vienna, refused to accept either. Buol, Austrian foreign minister, then came forward with another proposal: equipoise. The Russians could keep their existing fleet; but, if they increased it, the British and French could send ships into the Black Sea to balance the increase. Neither Russell nor Drouyn was authorized to agree to this scheme; but Drouyn was afraid of missing any chance

of peace, and Russell was afraid of getting out of step with Drouyn. Both therefore accepted "equipoise". But when they returned home, Napoleon III rejected the compromise; and the British government followed suit. The peace conference was abandoned; and the war was renewed. This was a bad, muddled piece of diplomacy. It is hardly surprising that Bright saw his chance and took it.

There is much the same pattern as in the earlier speech of 31 March 1854. He begins by meeting ministers on their own ground and attacking their incompetence; gradually, he shifts his emphasis and moves over to more general principles. He asks what the war is about. It is not a war for Poland or for Hungary or for Italy. It is solely a war—and here he quotes ministers themselves—for the security of Turkey. Very well then, we want to reduce Russian preponderance. "How is that preponderance to cease?" Bright looks first at the idea of neutralizing the Black Sea and dismisses it with vehemence. "I conceive that was so monstrous a proposition, in the present condition of Europe, that I am surprised it should have been entertained for a moment by any sensible man." He says much the same of limiting the Russian fleet. "If any diplomatist from this country, under the same circumstances as Russia was placed in, had consented to terms such as the noble Lord had endeavoured to force upon Russia—I say, that if he entered the door of this House, he would be met by one universal shout of execration, and, as a public man, would be ruined for ever." Bright has an alternative: the Straits should be opened to everybody:

> Our fleets would visit the Black Sea in the course of the season, and the Russian Black Sea fleet, if it chose, would visit the Mediterranean. There would be no sort of pretence for wrangling about the Straits; and the balance of power —if I may use the term—between the fleets of Russia, France and England would be probably the best guarantee that could be offered for the security of Constantinople and Turkey, so far as they are in danger of aggression either from the Black Sea or the Mediterranean.

This is a surprising proposal. I say nothing of the fact that Russia would have rejected it emphatically, whatever Gorchakov might hint at Vienna. But Bright, in his eagerness to discredit imposing any terms on Russia—terms that certainly

could only be imposed after her defeat—Bright is reduced in practice to the crudest *realpolitik*. He says in effect: no treaty stipulations are of any value; the only effective course is to maintain a balance of power, a balance of actual force, by keeping a large fleet in the eastern Mediterranean. If Palmerston had said this, what an outcry Bright would have made; what assertions of Russian good faith; what cries, and justified cries, about the weight of taxes to maintain such a fleet. It has often been said that non-intervention and splendid isolation are luxuries dependent on naval supremacy; but Bright never came so near admitting it as in this passage. His judgement of fact, however, was not correct. Six months after he made this speech the Russians accepted the neutralization of the Black Sea, which he had dismissed as a monstrous proposition. It is true that they denounced it again fifteen years later, when the diplomatic structure of Europe had changed fundamentally. Nevertheless Bright underrated what a Power will agree to when it has been defeated.

The rest of Bright's speech moves away from these diplomatic questions. He points to the folly of saying that Austria must be preserved and yet trying to draw her into a war that would exhaust her; he warns against the danger of relying on France as an ally; he denounces the idea of defending the liberties of Europe:

> What a notion a man must have of the duties of the . . . people living in these islands if he thinks . . . that the sacred treasure of the bravery, resolution, and unfaltering courage of the people of England is to be squandered in a contest . . . for the preservation of the independence of Germany, and of the integrity, civilization, and something else, of all Europe!

He quotes the things that Palmerston and Russell said against each other in the past. But his greatest emphasis is on the burden of taxation and the crippling effect which this will have in our competition with the United States.

> Hon. Members may think this is nothing. They say it is a 'low' view of the case. But these things are the foundation of your national greatness, and of your national duration; and you may be following visionary phantoms in all parts of the world while your own country is becoming rotten within, and calamities may be in store for the monarchy and the nation of which now, it appears, you take no heed.

It may seem a little unfair to end the survey of Bright's speeches on this note; but it is the note on which he himself chose to end and, in the parliamentary circumstances of 1855, perhaps rightly. What are we to say, after this examination, of Bright's attitude towards the Crimean War? We are bound, I am sure, to admire the courage with which Bright expressed his views and still more the brilliance of his performance. If I had merely read to you one of his speeches, instead of trying to analyse them, you would certainly have been swept away and have been convinced, without further argument, that the Crimean War was all that Bright said—unnecessary, unjust, in short a crime. But do we feel the same if we escape from their spell? I have suggested, during the course of this lecture, that Bright was not always sound when he came to the details of diplomacy. It is difficult, when criticizing the government of your own country, not to skate over the faults of other governments; and Bright did not escape this danger. He was harsher towards Stratford de Redcliffe than to Prince Menshikov; professed more faith in the statements of Nesselrode than in those of Palmerston; gave the Russian, but not the British government the benefit of the doubt. There was certainly much muddle and confusion in the diplomacy of the Crimean War; but, to judge from Bright's speeches, you would imagine that it was all on the British side. This one-sidedness is almost bound to happen in parliamentary speeches. You may achieve some effect by attacking your own government; you will achieve nothing by attacking foreign statesmen. In exactly the same way, Charles James Fox was often more charitable towards Bonaparte than towards William Pitt; and pacifists of the First World War, such as E. D. Morel, had more sympathy for German than for British imperialism.

One looks in vain in Bright's speeches for any satisfactory explanation of the causes of the Crimean War. He seems to suggest that it was due solely to newspaper agitation and to the irresponsibility of Palmerston and Russell. "The country has been, I am afraid, the sport of their ancient rivalry; and I should be very sorry if it should be the victim of the policy which they have so long advocated." Cobden was more cautious.

He held that Russia, too, was " much in the wrong " ; and therefore kept quiet, washing his hands, as it were, of both sides. Bright often implied that Russian expansion against Turkey was an unexceptionable, even a praiseworthy process. Not always. He said in his first speech : " If I were a Russian, speaking in a Russian Parliament, I should denounce any aggression upon Turkey, as I now blame the policy of our own Government ; and I greatly fear I should find myself in a minority, as I now find myself in a minority on this question." But is not this justice a little more than even-handed? Does it not imply that to attack Turkey and to defend her are equally reprehensible and provocative? If Russian aggression, though deplorable, is inevitable, then is not resistance to this aggression equally inevitable? Or do we make allowances only one way? In the next eastern crisis of 1876-8 Gladstone took a clearer and more consistent line. He held that the destruction of the Turkish Empire in Europe was eminently desirable ; and therefore he wished Russia to succeed, preferably in association with England. Though he opposed the actual course of British policy, he offered a positive alternative. Bright's attitude was one of aloof neutrality.

He was not clear about this himself. In a speech to the Peace Society, which he made on 13 October 1853—before the Crimean War broke out—he attacked the idea of war " for the miserable, decrepit, moribund Government which is now enthroned, but which cannot long last, in the city of Constantinople ". Surely the logical conclusion from this should have been to co-operate in the Concert of Europe, as Gladstone later advocated. But Bright always denied that he favoured the Russian cause ; and in a later speech on foreign policy, which he made on 29 October 1858, preached high-minded isolation. This country should have " adequate and scientific means of defence ".

> But I shall repudiate and denounce the expenditure of every shilling, the engagement of every man, the employment of every ship which has no object but intermeddling in the affairs of other countries.

He refused to admit that an active foreign policy could ever be justified. " This foreign policy, this regard for ' the liberties of

Europe', this care at one time for 'the Protestant interests', this excessive love for the 'balance of power', is neither more nor less than a gigantic system of out-door relief for the aristocracy of Great Britain." All foreign policy was unnecessary. Instead "we have the unchangeable and eternal principles of the moral law to guide us, and only so far as we walk by that guidance can we be permanently a great nation, or our people a happy people".

When Bright said this, he had left Manchester and was already the representative of Birmingham. This was symbolic. Though he seemed discredited while the Crimean War was on, he triumphed afterwards. By 1858 he was back in the House of Commons; and his version of the Crimean War was already being accepted. English people usually think their wars a mistake, when they are over; and they thought this of the Crimean War sooner than usual. As a matter of fact, it achieved its purpose rather better than most wars. Russia's control of the Danube mouth, which was the largest issue in the war, was recovered only in 1945; and Turkey, whose demise has been so often foretold, possesses Constantinople and the Straits to this day. I do not venture to say whether these achievements are desirable. Bright, however, said that they were impossible. Most Englishmen soon came to agree with him. It is Bright's version of the Crimean War which has triumphed in popular opinion and in the history books. Bright had more success. Once it was agreed that the Crimean War had been a mistake, it was easy to draw the further conclusion that all wars were a mistake. The moral law which Bright invoked turned out to be the doctrine of the man who passed by on the other side. It is no accident that Bright, at the end of his life, had Joseph Chamberlain as his colleague in the representation of Birmingham. There was a continuity of ideas from Bright to Joseph Chamberlain; and from Joseph Chamberlain to Neville. The Munich settlement of 1938 was implicit in Bright's opposition to the Crimean War. I am not sure whether this condemns Bright's attitude or justifies Munich.

HAND-LIST OF THE BAGSHAWE MUNIMENTS DEPOSITED IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY

(continued)

By F. TAYLOR, M.A., Ph.D.
KEEPER OF MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY

XIII. DEEDS AND DOCUMENTS

13/1/1-4. co. Chester.

High Legh

13/1/1. Will of James Stelfox of High Legh, gent. 21 Jan. 1817. Codicil, 11 March. Copy.

Marple

13/1/2. Will of Thomas Marriott of High Lane, Marple, gent. 6 Feb. 1836. Copy.

13/1/3. Sale by Richard Arkwright of Willersly Castle, co. Derby, esq., to trustees, of land and a building thereon for the purpose of a Day and Sunday School for the Established Church. n.d. [1837.] Draft.

Prestbury

13/1/4. Will of Thomas Venables of Prestbury, gent. 22 Dec. 1749. Letters of administration, 17 May 1819 [*sic*]. Copy.

13/2/1-21. co. Cumberland.

Brunstock

13/2/1. Copy [17th cent.] of 3 conveyances concerning John Dalton and premises in Brunsketh. 28 Jan. 1602/3, 22 April 1606, 24 Aug. 1607.

13/2/2. Bond of Janet Bushby, widow, to Richard Dalton for performance of covenants. 14 Nov. 1619.

13/2/3. Bond of John Dalton, son of John of Brunsketh, gent., to John Hairskugh for performance of covenants. 22 Feb. 1642 3.

13/2/4. Warrant to the constables of Crosby parish for the arrest of John Dalton, son of Thomas of Brinstocke. 6 Aug. 1668.

13/2/5. Arbitration award in a dispute between Thomas Bushby of Brunstocke and Janet his wife, of the first part, Richard Dalton of the same, of the second part, and John Dalton, of the third part, respecting a right to certain free lands at Brunstocke. 5 Feb. 1668 9.

13/2/6. Surrender by John Hairsceugh *alias* Howsomer of Briscoe, yeoman, to Richard Dalton of Brunstocke, yeoman, of land in Brunstock. 27 Dec. 1669. With bond.

13/2/7. Bond of Christopher Parker of Brunstock, yeoman, to Richard Dalton of the same, jun., yeoman, for performance of covenants. 7 March 1670/1.

13/2/8. Apprenticeship bond of John Dalton of Brunstock, jun., to Thomas Lowry of Stannix, whitesmith. 4 May 1680. With bond.

13/2/9. Sale by Ambrose Nicholson of Milton-hill and William Jackson of Walby, yeomen, to James Nicholson of Brunstocke, yeoman, of land in Brunstocke with appurtenances. 20 March 1682/3. With 2 receipts.

13/2/10. Bond of James Nicholson of Brunstocke, yeoman, to Richard Dalton of the same, yeoman, for performance of covenants. 11 April 1683.

13/2/11. Bond of Thomas Cowin of Low Crosby and James Bowsted of Linstock, yeoman, to Richard Dalton, yeoman, for performance of covenants. 3 Dec. 1688.

13/2/12. General release by John Sowerby, yeoman, to Richard Dalton. 22 Sept. 1697.

13/2/13. Legal opinion of John Chesshyre touching the commons of Brinstock. 22 July 1700.

13/2/14. Memorandum of admittances of Richard Dalton and John Dalton to premises at Brunstock. 9 Sept. 1713, 19 March 1722.

13/2/15. Bond of John Dalton of York, co. York, gent., and his son Richard to Joseph Gilliburne of Haughton, yeoman, respecting money entrusted to the said Joseph. 23 March 1722.

13/2/16. Memorandum of receipt by John Wilson from his uncle John Dalton of certain deeds. 24 Sept. 1735.

13/2/17. Miscellaneous letters and papers of the Dalton family. 1693-1752. 14 items.

CARLISLE

13/2/18. Final concord between Timothy Haddock, Anthony Stagg and John Dalton, plaintiffs, and Thomas Craister, gent., and Elizabeth, his wife, and others, deforciants, respecting messuages and land in Sharpe Vennell, Linton, Holme, Carlile, Brunstock, and Crosby. 3 weeks from Mich. 1671. Copy.

13/2/19. Indenture declaring the intent of the above. 15 [*month torn*], 24 Charles II.

TARRABY

13/2/20. Bond of Robert Parker of Carlisle to William Bell for performance of covenants. 11 Feb. 1670.

13/2/21. Extracts from proceedings at Courts Baron for the manor of Tarraby concerning surrenders by Robert Bell (17 Oct. 1656) and Robert Parker (15 Feb. 1670).

13/3/1-622. CO. DERBY.

ASHFORD

13/3/1. Will of John Ashe of Ashford, clerk. 9 July 1733. Probate, 20 May 1736. With copy and memorandum concerning the same, 18 Aug. 1737.

ASHOVER

13/3/2. Mortgage by Samuel Shelden of Ashover, husbandman, to William Millward of the same, yeoman, of a messuage and land in Ashover. 1 May 1662.

BAGSHAW

13/3/3. Quitclaim by William, son of Henry, rector of Colwyke, John de Wardeloe of Criche parish, William de Winfeld of Wirkeseworth and William Storour of the same to Thomas le Grenesmyth of Bagschagh of all their right in messuages and lands in Bagschagh formerly belonging to Richard Crowether and a moiety of a kiln lying between a croft of Hugh Gibbe and a hedge of the said Hugh in the same vill. 7 Nov. 1423. 5 seals (1 missing, 2 imperf.).

13/3/4. I.P.M. of Anthony Gibb, late of Bagshawe, yeoman. 21 Aug. 1618.

13/3/5. Settlement before the marriage of Robert Gibbe (son and heir of Robert Gibbe of Bagshawe, yeoman) and Sarah Bacon (daughter of Richard Bacon of Ughillwoodsyd within Bradfelde Chapelry, co. York, yeoman). 22 Dec. 1641.

13/3/6. Settlement after the marriage of Robert Wainewright of Bagshawe, yeoman, and Mary (daughter of James Carrington of Blakebrooke, yeoman). 9 March 1696/7.

13/3/7. Release by Robert Wainwright and Mary his wife to Edmund Ogden of Macclesfeild, co. Chester, gent., of 2 messuages with appurtenances at Bagshawe. 18 Feb. 1706/7. With bond and final concord.

13/3/8. Settlement after the marriage of Robert Wainewright and Mary his wife. 15 and 16 June 1707.

13/3/9. Articles of agreement between the above Robert Wainewright and Samuel Frith of Peake Forrest, yeoman, for the conveyance of a messuage and land at Bagshaw. 24 June 1708.

13/3/10. Conveyance by Edmund Ogden of Macclesfeild, co. Chester, gent., and the above Robert Wainwright to the above Samuel Fryth of a messuage and closes at Bagshaw. 3 and 4 Dec. 1708. With bond.

13/3/11. Feoffment from Robert Winterbotham of Peak Forrest, yeoman, and Mary, his wife, to Adam Young of Ford, yeoman, of a close in Bagshaw called *Oldfield*. 5 June 1712.

13/3/12. Agreement of freeholders and tenants in Chapel-en-le-Frith parish that Ellen Swann of Bagshaw, widow, may enclose a piece of waste on Bagshaw Green. 4 Feb. 1757.

13/3/13. Feoffment from Ellen Swann of Bagshaw, widow, to James Green of the same, husbandman, of the above piece of waste with a cottage standing thereon. 8 Feb. 1757.

13/3/14. Will of John Frith of Bagshaw, yeoman. 8 April 1775. Probate, 19 Jan. 1782. 2 copies.

13/3/15. Mortgage by James Green of Maglow, farmer, to William Lee of How Lane in Marple, co. Chester, innkeeper, of a piece of land at Bagshaw. 27 Nov. 1786.

13/3/16. Mortgage by the above William Lee and James Green to Thomas Marriott of Marple, co. Chester, gent., of the same. 1 May 1787.

13/3/17. Assignment by Samuel Needham of Rushop Edge, yeoman, and Samuel Frith of Bank in Chapel parish, gent., to John Frith of Manchester, cotton manufacturer, of a messuage, farm and lands called Bagshaw. 2 June 1793.

13/3/18. Mortgage by the above John Frith to James Stelfox of Crowley Lodge, co. Chester, gent., of a messuage and closes at Bagshaw. 7 and 8 June 1793. With bond.

13/3/19. Conveyance from Jasper Hall of Bagshaw, yeoman, to Thomas Hatfield of Crowding Brooke in Motteram parish, co. Chester, gent., of 2 messuages and land at Bagshaw. 19 and 20 May 1814.

13/3/20. Conveyance from John Frith of Pendleton, co. Lanc., merchant, to Hannah Dixon of Manchester, widow, of a messuage and closes at Bagshaw, and a messuage and closes in the parochial chapelry of Wormhill. 31 Dec. 1816 and 1 Jan. 1817. Copy.

13/3/21. Conveyance from Thomas Hadfield of Cradenbrook in Mottram parish, co. Chester, gent., to Mary Edge and Martha Edge of Buxton, spinsters, of 2 messuages and land at Bagshaw and land called the *Hall hill Piece* lying on Peasleys in Chapel parish. 29 and 30 Sept. 1826. With bond.

13/3/22. Transfer from the executors of James Stelfox to Edward Stelfox of Rosthern, co. Chester, farmer, and Alice Stelfox of Crowley, co. Chester, spinster, of 13/3/18 above. 28 and 29 Sept. 1827.

13/3/23. Conveyance by Hannah Dixon, widow, and others, to Richard Roe of Manchester, drysalter, and William Tait of Ashby de la Zouch, co. Leic., dissenting minister, of the premises, etc., concerned in 13/3/20 above. 21 and 22 Nov. 1827. Copy.

13/3/24. Miscellaneous papers respecting the title to *Bagshaw farm*. 1833-4. 6 items.

13/3/25. Abstract of the title to a farmhouse and land at Bagshaw. 19 March 1834.

13/3/26. Deed of covenants between William Fleming of Manchester, doctor of physic, and Thomas Marriott of High Lane within Marple, co. Chester, gent., for the production of title deeds respecting an estate at Bagshaw. 25 June 1834.

13/3/27. Release by Richard Roe and others to Thomas Marriott of a farm and lands at Bagshaw. 25 June 1834. With 5 documents concerning the same.

13/3/28. Release and assignment by Thomas Hadfield to his trustee Robert Newton of Ashton under Lyne, co. Lanc., of a messuage and land at Bagshaw. 13 and 14 April 1840.

13/3/29. Conveyance from Thomas Hadfield and others to Robert Marshall of Chapel-en-le Frith, common brewer, of a messuage and closes at Bagshaw and the *Hall Hill Piece* on Peasleys in Chapel parish. 3 Dec. 1840. With 2 documents concerning the same.

13/3/30. Mortgage by Robert Marshall to Alice Bateman of Chelmorton, co. Chester, spinster, of the same. 30 Dec. 1840.

BAKEWELL

13/3/31. "Captain Wright's Company mustered at Bakewell, 5 July 1690." 19th cent. copy.

13/3/32. Will of John Hall of Halltopp in Bakewell parish, yeoman. 14 April 1724. Copy.

13/3/33. Will of Jane Hall of Beely in Bakewell parish, widow. 18 Dec. 1739.

13/3/34. Will of Edward Heathcott of Bakewell, butcher. 13 July 1757. Copy.

13/3/35. "An Act for Dividing and inclosing the several Commons and Waste Grounds . . . in the Parish of Bakewell." 1772.

13/3/36. "An Act Dividing and Inclosing the several Open Fields [etc.] within the Hamlet of Taddington and Prestcliff in the Parish of Bakewell." 1793.

BOLSOVER

13/3/37. Surrender of messuages and land formerly belonging to John Bright to the use of his granddaughter Mary Dalton. 26 April 1754. (Extract from proceedings at Bolsover Court Leet.)

13/3/38. "An Act For dividing and inclosing the Open Arable Fields and Commons, within the Manor of Bolsover, in the Parishes of Bolsover and Clown." 1778.

13/3/39. "Abstract of the Title of His Grace The Duke of Atholl to certain Pieces of Copyhold Land at Bolsover." 1820.

BONSALL

13/3/40. Surrender by John Eaton and Thomas Clarke of a messuage and land. 13 April 1711. (Extract from proceedings at Bonsall Court Baron.)

13/3/41. Surrender by Edmund Evans of a messuage and land. 3 July 1711. (Similar extract.)

BRADWELL

13/3/42. Feoffment from William Chalsworth of Shefield, co. York, cutler, to Thomas Hallom of Bradwall, yeoman, of a close in the territory of Bradwall. 9 April 1715. With copy.

13/3/43. Final concord between Hugh Hill, plaintiff, and Martin Middleton, deforciant, respecting land with appurtenances in Bradwall. 8 days from Hil., 1763.

13/3/44. Mortgage by Thomas Middleton of Bradwall, miner, to Robert Hill of the same, yeoman, of a newly erected house in Bradwall called the *Smithy Hill*. 19 June 1775.

13/3/45. Apprenticeship indenture of Hugh Hill (son of Robert Hill of Bradwell) to John Moorhouse of Bradwell, fustian weaver. 14 Aug. 1784.

13/3/46. Memorandum of a sale to Robert Hill of Bradwell of a cottage at Bradwell. 1 June 1789.

13/3/47. Lease for 21 years by Francis Bagshaw of Hazlebadge, gent., to Hugh Hill and Isaac Hill, both of Bradwell, cotton manufacturers and co-partners, of 2 closes in Bradwell. 14 June 1799.

13/3/48. Conditions of sale for an auction of premises at Bradwell occupied by John Broadbent and Daniel Furnass. 12 Sept. 1801.

13/3/49. "An account of ore measured in the Liberty of Bradwell". 1801-2.

13/3/50. Miscellaneous receipts and papers of the Hill family of Bradwell. 18-19th cent. 72 items.

BRAMPTON

13/3/51. Lease for 16 years by Henry Harvy of Walton in Chesterfield parish, husbandman, to Samuel Doe of the parish or free chapelry of Brampton, carpenter, of a messuage with closes in the said parish or free chapelry. 14 Aug. 1714.

13/3/52. Licence for Rebecca Lowe of Brampton to keep an alehouse. 17 Sept. 1779.

BROWNSIDE

13/3/53. Settlement after the marriage of Charles Kyerke the younger and Anne his wife (daughter of Charles Lingard of Chappell Milltowne in Glossopp parish, yeoman). 1 Oct. 1680.

13/3/54. Will of Charles Kirk of Shireoaks in Glossop parish, yeoman. 4 March 1701. Copy.

13/3/55. Conveyance by George Kirke of White Hough, yeoman, and his son Samuel to Joseph Barras and Joseph Dudbridge, both of Clements Inn, co. Middx., gentlemen, of a capital messuage at Brown Side in Glossop parish called the *Shire Oakes*, in which John Kirke lives, with appurtenances and closes at Brownside and lands in the herbage of Mainstone Field *alias* Chinleys *alias* Chinelyes, all of which lands and premises are situated in Brownside and Chinley, for the purpose of levying a fine. 1 and 2 Jan. 1724/5.

13/3/56. Lease for 21 years by Samuel Kirk of Whitehough, gent., to John Walker of Shireoaks in Glossop parish, husbandman, of a messuage with appurtenances at Shireoaks, and the said Samuel's right of commoning upon a waste called Colborn, and a pew in Chapel-en-le-Frith church. 27 Feb. 1752.

13/3/57. Conveyance by Samuel Kirk of Whitehough and Jasper Frith of Bank Hall in Chappell parish, gentlemen, by the direction of Anthony Ward of Ashton under Line, co. Lanc., plumber, to Thomas Kirk of Shire Oakes, yeoman, of a parcel of ground on Brownside Common in Glossopp parish called *The Grain*. 21 and 22 Nov. 1753.

13/3/58. Conveyance by the above Thomas Kirk to Samuel Frith of the Chamber within Peake Forest, gent., of the same. 19 and 20 Dec. 1753.

13/3/59. Articles of agreement between Henry Ward of the Wash in Chappel parish, plumber, and Thomas Kirk of Shire oaks, yeoman, for the conveyance to the latter of common on Brownside Moor called *The Grain*. 16 Aug. 1758.

13/3/60. Bond of John Walker of Shire Oaks, farmer, to Samuel Frith of Bank Hall, gent., for performance of covenants. 10 Jan. 1777.

13/3/61. "Survey of Shire: Oaks." 7 April 1777.

13/3/62. Conveyance by William Tatton of Withinshaw, co. Chester, esq., by the appointment of William Plumbe, rector of Aughton, co. Lanc., and Catherine his wife (daughter and heir of the late Samuel Kirk) to Samuel Frith of Bank Hall, gent., of a messuage at Brownside called the Shire Oakes, all pews in the parish churches of Glossop and Chapel-en-le-Frith belonging

to the occupiers of the same, and parcels of land lying at Brownside and within the herbage of Mainston Field otherwise Chinley otherwise Chineleleys, all of which premises are in Brownside and Chinley, and parcels of land on Colborne in Chapel parish and common of pasture in the same. 9 and 10 April 1777.

13/3/63. Lease for 21 years by Samuel Frith of Bank Hall, esq., to John Bower of Chindley, yeoman, of the messuage called *Shireoaks* in Chindley, with closes in Chindley belonging to the same, with appurtenances. 25 March 1784.

13/3/64. Mortgage and assignment by Samuel Frith of Bank Hall, esq., to Stephen Bellot of Combs in Chapel parish, esq., of an estate at Shireoaks. 15 and 16 June 1820.

13/3/65. Further mortgage respecting the same and a mortgage of a piece of land called *The Grain*. 13 and 14 April 1823.

13/3/66. Miscellaneous papers in a case respecting Shireoaks estate and a piece of ground called *The Grain* situated in Brownside and Chinley. 1816-1838. 39 items.

13/3/67. Release and assignment from Godfrey Webster of Bank Hall, esq., (nephew and heir of the late John Frith) and others to Henry Marwood Greaves of Hesley, co. Nott., esq., respecting the same. 6 Sept. 1838.

BUXTON

13/3/68. Award of John Bagshaw of the Oakes, esq., in a dispute between the Rev. George Buxton of Buxton and Thomas Green of the same, surgeon, respecting premises in Buxton. 10 Feb. 1790. Draft.

CASTLETON

13/3/69. Inventory of lands and tenements of Otuel Nedham within the parishes of Castylton and Hope. 31 July 1487. With translation.

13/3/70. Assignment by Peter Bradshawe, citizen and merchant tailor of London, to Robert Eyre, Ralph Cantrell and others of all his estate in the herbage of Caldelowe *alias* Callowe and the premises belonging to the same, for the remainder of a term of years. 3 June 1614.

13/3/71. Assignment by the Rt. Hon. William, Viscount Maunsfeilde to Thurstan Browne of Hilsdale, co. Staff., gent., of all his right etc. in a third part of the advowson of the vicarage of the parish church of Castleton, of the rectory and parsonage of the same, and of the vicarage of the parish church of the same, and the lands, tenements, etc. belonging to the same. 6 June 1622.

13/3/72. Decree respecting the payment of tithes of lead ore by the parsonage of Castleton. 22 March 1636.

13/3/73. Assignment by Nicholas Stones of Hymsworth, yeoman, to Edmund Chapman of Little Hucklow, husbandman, of a dwelling house in Castleton near the churchyard for the residue of a term of years. 3 April 1651.

13/3/74. Final concord between Humphrey Marshall and Thomas Lomas, plaintiffs, and Nicholas Bradshawe and Joan his wife and Anthony Olleranshawe and Mary his wife, deforciants, respecting premises and land in Castleton and Woodseates. 5 weeks from Easter, 1661. Copy.

13/3/75. Memorandum of an agreement between Tobias Le Gros of the Inner Temple, London, esq., and Richard Torr of Castleton, gent., for a lease to the latter of land called Calowe within Castleton. 25 Sept. 1688.

13/3/76. Lease for 17 years by the same to the same of the herbage of Caldlow *alias* Callow in Castleton. 16 May 1689.

13/3/77. Assignment by John Hutchinson of Carsington, lead merchant, to Richard Bagshaw of Castleton, gent., of certain cottages. 4 Aug. 1699.

13/3/78. "An Assesm^{t}. to discharge the Costs of A Decree obtained of the Freeholders and Coppyholders to proporcions of Common within Castleton." 27 Feb. 1713.

13/3/79. Miscellaneous documents relating to the shrievalty of Richard Bagshawe of Castleton. 1720-3. 22 items.

13/3/80. Will of Charles Potts of Castleton, gent. n.d. Codicil, 12 March 1724. Probate, 7 Aug. 1725.

13/3/81. Assignment by Sir John Statham of Wigwell to Richard Bagshaw of Castleton, esq., of the herbage called Caldelowe *alias* Callow for the remainder of a term of years. 18 Nov. 1729.

13/3/82. Papers in a law suit between Richard Bagshawe of the Oakes, esq., and Henry Balguy the younger, gent., respecting a seat in Castleton church. 1704-33. 10 items.

13/3/83. Lease for 31 years by the King to William, Duke of Devonshire of messuages, lands, etc., in the manors or lordships of Castleton and the High Peak and elsewhere in co. Derby, of the herbage of Caldlow *alias* Callow and of various quarries, tithes and heriots, etc. [*Blank for day and month*], 1757. With 2 documents concerning the same.

13/3/84. Lease for 21 years by the Bishop of Chester to John Bagshaw of Castleton, esq., of the rectory and parsonage of Castleton, with all appurtenances (the third part of the said rectory and parsonage and other premises with appurtenances excepted and reserved to the vicar, and the advowson and right of patronage of the vicarage reserved to the Bishops of Chester). 24 June 1786. Counterpart.

13/3/85. "Value of Lands at Castleton [rented by Js : Hall] the Property of Jn^{o}. Bagshaw, Esq^{r}." 1788.

13/3/86. Demise for 23 years to John Bagshaw of Castleton, esq., of pasture called the Callow *alias* Cawlow in Castleton, parcel of the possessions of the Duchy of Lancaster in co. Derby. 14 March 1797.

13/3/87. "A survey of the Castle Meadow belonging to John Bagshaw, Esquire." 2 Oct. 1798.

13/3/88. Lease for 21 years to John Bagshaw, late of Castleton, now of Oakes, esq., of the rectory and parsonage of Castleton as in 13/3/84 above. 24 June 1800.

13/3/89. Assignment from John Bagshaw to Isaac Wilkinson of Tapton House in Chesterfield parish, esq., of the above lease. 16 Jan. 1801.

13/3/90. "An Acco^{t}. of Ore Meas^{d}. in the Liberties of Castleton and Chapel en le Frith", and of tithes belonging to Mr. Bagshaw in Haslebadge lordship. 1801-2.

13/3/91. Lease for 21 years by the Bishop of Chester to William Bagshaw of Staveley, clerk, as in 13/3/88 above. 4 June 1807.

13/3/92. Similar lease. 5 July 1814.

13/3/93. Papers in a case between the Rev. William Bagshawe and Isaac Hall and others. 1816-19. 12 items.

13/3/94. Similar lease to 13/3/92 above. 23 June 1821.

13/3/95. Similar lease to the above. 23 June 1828.

13/3/96. Demise to the Rev. William Bagshaw of Banner Cross, co. York, of land, called Callow *alias* Cowlow *alias* Cawlow in Castleton, parcel of the possessions of the Duchy of Lancaster. 20 July 1839. With copy.

13/3/97. "Apportionment of the Rent-Charge in lieu of Tithes in the Township of Castleton." 1840.

13/3/98. Miscellaneous papers respecting Callow (24) and Castleton (7). 1704-1841. 31 items.

13/3/99. Lease for 21 years to the Rev. William Bagshawe of the rectory and parsonage of Castleton, as in 13/3/84 above. 22 Sept. 1842. With copy.

13/3/100. Miscellaneous accounts respecting mines in Castleton (including Oden, Top Groves, and New Rake Mines) and on Grassington Moor in Linton parish, co. York. 1797-*c.*1843. 46 items.

13/3/101. Castleton Rectory: tithe ore accounts. 1772-1845. 62 items.

13/3/102. Miscellaneous Castleton rent accounts. 1801-47. 65 items.

CHAPEL-EN-LE-FRITH

13/3/103. Feoffment from Nicholas Kerke of Chappell in le Frithe, blacksmith, to George Thornhill of Warmbrooke and Nicholas Cresswell of Chappell in le Frith, yeomen, of a messuage in Chappell parish. 30 Dec. 1615. With 19th cent. abstract.

13/3/104. Depositions of witnesses taken at Chappel le Frith in a case between George Thornhill and others, plaintiffs, and Thomas Barney and others, defendants. 25 March 1619. 19th cent. Copy (typewritten).

13/3/105. Sale by Edward Barber of Clough in Chappell parish, yeoman, to Thomas Dawson of Castleton, miner, of parcels of land called *shoebroad* and *the Sitch* in Foordfeild *alias* Foorthfeild in Chappell in le Frith. 20 Nov. 1638.

13/3/106. Sale by the same to George Greenesmith of Maglowe, yeoman, of a close called *Slackfeild*. 24 Nov. 1638.

13/3/107. Inventory of the goods and chattels of [*torn*] Bowden of Lanside in the parish of Chappe[*rest torn*] Frith, yeoman. 18 June 1657.

13/3/108. Feoffment by Thomas Turner of Willkinhill in Chappell parish, yeoman, to George Thornhill and Humphrey Thornhill, both of Wharmbrooke in Chappell parish, yeomen, of a close of land called *the Bettfield* with all buildings, etc., thereto belonging at Bettfield. 10 June 1659.

13/3/109. Will of William Barber of Malcalfe, gent. 4 Feb. 1666.

13/3/110. Conveyance by Edward Barber of Malcoffe field head in Chappell parish, yeoman, to Thomas Barber of Smaledale howses within the Peake Forrest and William Barber of Malcoffe field head, husbandmen, his sons, of his dwelling house at Malcoffe field head with closes in Malcoffe fields *alias* Foardfields. 7 July 1668.

13/3/111. Articles of agreement between Thomas Barbar, natural son of Edward Barbar of Malcalfe feild head, yeoman, and William Barbar, brother of the said Thomas, yeoman, respecting Edward's messuage at Malcalfe feild head. 27 June 1673. With duplicate.

13/3/112. Bargain and sale by Thomas Lowe of Bowdenhead, yeoman, and his son and heir Humphrey Lowe, yeoman, to John Shirt of the same, yeoman, of their capital messuage in Bowdenhead with premises and closes belonging thereto. 1 Jan. 1679. With bond.

13/3/113. "A Copy of Such part of Francis Gee of Roside in the Parrish of Chappel-le-frith his last Will [1 Oct. 1679] As Relates to the Charity therein by him bequeathed." 18th cent. Copy.

13/3/114. Settlement by William Barbar of Malcalffe, yeoman, on his son Thomas respecting a messuage with appurtenances at Malcoffe. 1 April 1680. With duplicate.

13/3/115. Final concord between Charles Kirke and Robert Carrington, plaintiffs, and Thomas Barbor and others, deforciants, respecting 2 messuages and land in Malcalfe, Bowden, Chappell, Chinley and Bowden Middlecale. Oct. of Trin. 1682.

13/3/116. Conveyance by William Barbar of Malcalfe Feild, yeoman, to Thomas Barber his brother, of part of a messuage and land at Malcalfe Field. 23 June 1682.

13/3/117. Indenture between Thomas Barbor of Malcalfe, yeoman, and Charles Kirk the elder, of Shire Oakes, yeoman, declaring the uses of a fine respecting 2 messuages and closes in Malcalfe and Bowden Chappell. 20 July 1682.

13/3/118. Indenture between Thomas Barber of Malcalfe, yeoman, and Anne his wife and others, for suffering a recovery of a messuage and land at Malcalfe. 1 March 1683.

13/3/119. Indenture of covenants between John Frith of Peake Forrest, yeoman, and Thomas Barber of Mallcalfe, yeoman, respecting ingress, egress and regress into certain closes at Malcoff. 9 May 1683.

13/3/120. Exemplification of a plea of recovery by William Greaves and Charles Kirke, jun., against Thomas Browne, gent., and Robert Bagshawe, of a messuage and land in Chappell in le Frith. 21 May 1683.

13/3/121. Conveyance from Thomas Eyre of Grayes Inne, co. Middx., esq., to Edward Shert of Bowdonhead, yeoman, of wastes in Chappell in le Fryth on the Bole hill and Tom-Moor. 18 Aug. 1684.

13/3/122. "A Survey of Colinhey in the Parish of Chapel in the Firth . . . Belonging to Mr. Bagshaw of Ford, Observed Anno Domini MDCLXXXIIII."

13/3/123. Sale by Thomas Eyre of Grays Inne, esq., to Samuel Bagshaw of the Ford, gent., of a piece of common or waste in the hamlet of Bowden Edge. 27 May 1687.

13/3/124. Surrender by George Shert of premises at Clough next Bettfeilds in Chappell parish. 31 Aug. 1689. (Extract from proceedings at the Small Court Baron for the Hundred and Liberty of the High Peak.)

13/3/125. Bargain and sale by William Barber of Malcalfe, gent., to Thomas Barber of the same of closes at Malcalfe within Bowden Edge. 25 March 1691. With bond.

13/3/126. Sale by Samuel Bagshaw of Foard, gent., to Charles Kyrke the elder, of Shieroakes, yeoman, of a piece of common or waste at Roach Torr within Bowden Edge. 19 June 1691. With counterpart.

13/3/127. Indenture between George Shirt the elder of Bowdenhead, yeoman, of the first part, and John Shirt of the same and James Bretland of Browneroade in Mottram parish, co. Chester, of the second part, and Edward Shirt of Clough in Chapel parish, yeoman, and Mary his wife, of the third part, respecting a surrender of premises and land at Clough near Bettfields within Chapel parish. 12 Nov. 1691.

13/3/128. Map of Malcalfe Moor. Copied by Charles Kyrke, jun. 1691.

13/3/129. "The accounts of Jo^{n}: and W^{m}: Lees, Churchwardens of Chappell en Le Frith for y^{e} yeare 1695."

13/3/130. Conveyance from Thomas Eyre of Grays Inne, co. Middx., esq., and George Shawe of Chesterfield, gent., to Robert Middleton of Chappell in le Frith, mercer, of certain annual rents issuing from common or waste in Bowden Edge. 25 Nov. 1697.

13/3/131. Release by Edward Shert of the Clough in Chappell parish, yeoman, to Samuel Bagshawe of the Ford, gent., of a piece of enclosed land called *Swire Green* in Chappell parish. 26 Oct. 1699.

13/3/132. Will of John Shirt of Bowdenhead, yeoman. 2 Nov. 1699.

13/3/133. Release by the above Edward Shert to the above Samuel Bagshawe of a piece of unenclosed waste. 15 April 1700.

13/3/134. Will of John Shiert the elder of Boudon head, yeoman. 24 Aug. 1700. Probate, 22 May 1704.

13/3/135. Receipt from Samuel Bagshawe for Edward Shirt's rent for land in Bowden Edg. 10 Jan. 1701/2.

13/3/136. Lease to John Shalcross for 17 years from 30 Sept. 1715 of the toll, passage and stallage of the market and fairs at Chappell in the Frith, parcel of the Duchy of Lancaster, and also licence to search, dig and get coal within the wastes in the Liberty of the Lordship of the High Peake called Middlecale; and of coalmines in the parishes of Chappel in the Frith and Hope, with liberty to search, etc., for coal there ; and also of the tollage, passage and stallage of the markets and fairs of Heyfield. 23 June 1702. 6 seals (4 fragm., 2 missing).

13/3/137. Lease for 21 years by Thomas Eyre of Rowtorr in Youlgreave parish, esq., to Adam Bagshaw the elder of Wormhill, gent., of certain parcels of waste ground in Bowden Middlecale, Bowden, Chappell, Hope, Bradwell, Castleton, Wormhill, Fairfeild, Fernylegh, and Mellor. 26 March 1703.

13/3/138. Conveyance by William Barber of Malcalfe, gent., and his son John to Henry Arden and Thomas Swettenham, both of the Middle Temple, London, esquires, of messuages, etc. in Chappell in le Frith, Bowdon Midlecale, Chinley *alias* Maynstonfield, Whitfield and Glossop. 6 and 7 Aug. 1706.

13/3/139. Exemplification of a plea of recovery by Emanuel Smith, gent., against Henry Ardern and Thomas Swettenham, esquires, respecting 11 messuages and land in the same places. 23 Nov. 1706. Copy.

13/3/140. Paper in a case between Ambrose Gardiner, late of Bakewell, yeoman, and Charles Parker, respecting an entry into land in the parishes of Chapel in le Frith and Hope. Mich. 1708.

13/3/141. Bargain and sale by George Ward of Brownside, yeoman, to Joseph Shirt of Bowden Head, yeoman, of a house and garden with other premises at Wash. 25 March 1714.

13/3/142. Lease for 900 years by William Bagshaw of Ford, gent., to George Kyrke of Shireoakes, yeoman, of land at the upper end of Brownside common called Wheston Clough head and Henknowl. 25 March 1714.

13/3/143. Agreement by the freeholders and commoners of Chappell en le Fryth parish for the enclosing of their portions of the commons in the said parish. 31 March 1714. (Imperf. and stained.)

13/3/144. Agreement between John Barber of Malcalfe, gent., of the one part, and William Bagshaw of Ford, gent., and John Gregory of Doewood in Beelee, yeoman, and John Hall of Beelee, yeoman, of the other part, respecting a parcel of the commons of Chappell lying near Malcalfe adjoining the Bolehill. 1 Sept. 1714.

13/3/145. Feoffment by John Barber to Richard Bagshaw of Castleton, gent., Sampson White of Basloe, yeoman, and Robert Shaw of Holmesfeild, yeoman, of the premises in 13/3/144 above. 1 Feb. 1714/15. With bond for performance.

13/3/146. Conveyance by William Bagshaw of Ford, gent., to John Barbar of Malcalf, gent., of a parcel of common in the hamlet of Bowden Edg. 6 July 1715. With counterpart.

13/3/147. Conveyance from Stephen Bealott of Bruckhouses in Chappelle-frith, yeoman, to William Bagshaw of Ford, gent., of a parcel of land in Bowden Edge. 18 Aug. 1715.

13/3/148. Assignment by William Bagshawe of Ford, gent., to William Barber of Malcalfe, yeoman, of a piece of waste ground at Bowden Edge. 20 Nov. 1715. With duplicate.

13/3/149. Agreement for the levying of a fine respecting an enclosure called *the Birchinghey* at or near the Eves in Chappell parish, an enclosure part of the commons of Chappell lying near Malcalfe, and three parcels of ground on Blakebroke moore in Chappell parish. 24 May 1716. With duplicate.

13/3/150. Conveyance from William Bagshaw of Ford, gent., to Adam Young of Ford, yeoman, of a close adjoining Clough house. 20 June 1716. Draft.

13/3/151. Final concord between William Archer and William Bagshaw, plaintiffs, and John Nodder and Debora, his wife, and others, deforciants, respecting land with appurtenances in Chappell in le Frith parish. 3 weeks from Trin. 1716.

13/3/152. Feoffment by Ralph Kyrke of Chappell Town head, innkeeper, and Ann, his wife, to John Bennett of Slackhall, weaver, of a piece of common belonging to Toping house. 16 Jan. 1716/17.

13/3/153. Will of Thomas Barber of Malcoffe, yeoman. 10 Dec. 1718. Probate, 3 Nov. 1720.

13/3/154. Lease for 42 years by John Gregory and John Hall, both of Beelow in Bakewell parish, yeomen, to William Bagshaw of Ford, gent., of land lately purchased from John Barbar of Malcalf, being his share of common land belonging to his freehold estate in Chappell. 2 March 1718/19. With 2 bonds.

13/3/155. Conveyance from William Bagshaw of Ford, gent., to Thomas Hadfield of Tenterclough in Longden in Mottram parish, co. Chester, gent., of a parcel of common in Bowden Edg. 14 Nov. 1720. Counterpart.

13/3/156. Conveyance from Thomas Hadfield of Enter Clough in Longden in Mottrom parish, co. Chester, gent., to William Bagshawe of Ford, gent., of a piece of common on the Clough banck. 14 Nov. 1720.

13/3/157. Assignment by Benjamin Lingard of Slackhall, yeoman, to William Bagshaw of Ford, gent., of a parcel of enclosed land near Green Break heads, part of Black Latche. 15 Nov. 1721.

13/3/158. Will of Edward Shirt of Clough, yeoman. 7 March 1722. Probate, 9 May 1722.

13/3/159. Surrender by Edward Shert of a messuage at Clough next Bettfields in Chappell parish. 12 April 1722. (Extract from proceedings at the Small Court Baron of the Hundred and Liberty of the High Peak.)

13/3/160. Sale by John Fletcher to William Bagshaw of the Ford of " my land where Wainstones stand ". 17 Jan. 1724. [In rhyme.]

13/3/161. Acknowledgment for the receipt of legacies under the will (24 Aug. 1700) of John Shirt the elder, late of Bowdenhead. 25 March 1724/5.

13/3/162. Conveyance from Catherine Sutton of Chappell en le Frith, spinster, and Thomas Sutton, her eldest son and heir, weaver, to William Bagshaw of Ford, gent., of that part of land allotted to them by the freeholders of Chappell parish as their portion of common belonging to their house at Chappell. 27 May 1725.

13/3/163. Lease for 99 years by William Bagshaw of Ford, gent., Nicholas Bridbury of Rushop Edge, husbandman, of land at the north east end of Lower Coulburn. 15 Dec. 1726.

13/3/164. Document respecting the freeholders and parishioners of Chappellefrith parish and parish accounts. April 1729. (Badly imperf. and stained.)

13/3/165. Will of Joseph Shirtt of Bowdenhead, yeoman. 12 Oct. 1729.

13/3/166. Mortgage by John Gregory of Doewood in Beele, yeoman, to William Bagshaw of Ford, gent., of his share of a piece of ground formerly part of the commons of Chappell lying near Malcalf adjoining the Bole hill. 12 Jan. 1731/2. With bond for performance.

13/3/167. Surrender by Mary Shirt and Hannah Lomas, widows, of a messuage at Clough next Betfeilds. 4 May 1732. (Extract from proceedings at the Small Court Baron of the Hundred and Liberty of the High Peak.)

13/3/168. Feoffment from John Barber of Malcalfe, gent., to William Leese of Chappell in le Frith, surgeon, of Mortons Farm near the Wash and closes belonging thereto. 28 Nov. 1733. With 2 bonds.

13/3/169. Mortgage by William Leese of Chappell in le Frith, surgeon, to Daniel Leese of Rushton James, co. Stafford, clothier, of the same. 17 Dec. 1733.

13/3/170. Conveyance from Mary Shirt of Clough in Bowden-Edge and Hannah Lomax of the same, widows, to John Lomax of the same, Hannah's son and heir, of premises and land at Clough. 22 Jan. 1735.

13/3/171. Settlement before the marriage of John Lomax of Clough in Chappell parish, yeoman, and Mary Bradbury, daughter of Nicholas Bradbury of Rushop-edg in the Peake Forrest, husbandman. 17 April 1735.

13/3/172. Assignment from Joseph Trickett, merchant, and William Barber, yeoman, both of Malcalfe to John Kyrke of Shireoaks, yeoman, of a parcel of common on Little Moss. 11 Nov. 1735.

13/3/173. Extract from proceedings at the Small Court Baron of the Hundred and Liberty of High Peak respecting Robert Kirk and a surrender by Mary Shirt and Hannah Lomas, widows, of premises at Clough near Betfields. 13 May 1736.

13/3/174. Grant by John Lomas of Clough in Bowden edge to Mary Shirt and Hannah Lomas, widows, of annuities. 1 June 1736.

13/3/175. Mortgage by John Barber of Malcalfe, gent., to Edmund Waterhouse of Sheffield, co. York, gent., of a messuage, etc., called *Malcalfe Peice* and land. 28 July 1736.

13/3/176. Lease for 21 years by Thomas Turnor of Rowthin, co. Denbigh, yeoman, to Ann Shirt of Bettfield in Chappell parish, widow, and her sons John and William of a messuage with closes called the Bettfield Farm in Bowden Edg in Chappell parish. 6 June 1738. With counterpart.

13/3/177. Lease for 1,000 years by John Barber of Malcalfe, gent., to Thomas Waterhouse of Sheffield, gent., of the messuage, etc., concerned in 13/3/175 above. 15 Jan. 1738/9.

13/3/178. Agreement between Joseph Tricket of Malcalf, gent., and Thomas Waterhouse of Sheffield, gent., respecting a mortgage of 1735 of messuages, etc. at Chappele all frith. 29 May 1739. Copy.

13/3/179. Articles of agreement between John Lomas of Clough in Bowden Edg, yeoman, and Mary, his wife, of the first part, Hannah Lomas of Allstone lee in Chappell parish, widow, of the second part, and John Shirt of Bowden head in Chappell parish, yeoman, of the third part, for a surrender to John Shirt of an estate at Clough. 6 Dec. 1739.

13/3/180. Will of William Leese of Chappell in le Frith, surgeon. 14 July 1740. Note of probate, 17 Oct. Copy.

13/3/181. Bond of Peter Davenport of Macclesfield, co. Chester, esq., to Mary Lees of Chappell en le Frith, widow, and John Ridgeway of Edale, yeoman, respecting the above will. 15 Nov. 1740.

13/3/182. Note of an agreement respecting Samuel Bagshaw, John Barber and a moiety of Malcalfe moore. 5 Feb. 1741.

13/3/183. Surrender by Hannah Lomas, widow, and John Lomas and Mary, his wife, to the use of William Bagshaw of all their right in premises at Clough near Bettfield. 14 May 1741. (Extract from proceedings at the Small Court Baron of the Hundred and Liberty of High Peak.)

13/3/184. Release by Hannah Lomas of the Combs in Chappell parish, widow, to her son John of an annuity granted to her by 13/3/174 above. 26 June 1741.

13/3/185. Sale by John Lomas of Chappell in le Frith, butcher, and Mary, his wife, to William Bagshaw of Ford, esq., of a parcel of land at Clough, formerly part of the commons of Chappell. 6 Nov. 1741.

13/3/186. Bargain and sale by John Gregory of Doewood in Beeley, yeoman, and Mary, his wife, to William Bagshaw of Ford, esq., of all his share of a parcel of the wastes of Chappell near to the Malcalfe adjoining the Bole hill. 6 Nov. 1741.

13/3/187. Articles of agreement between John Barber of Malcalfe, gent., and Thomas Gisborne of Derby, esq., respecting 2 messuages and closes at Malcalfe. 17 June 1742.

13/3/188. Assignment by Thomas Waterhouse of Little Sheffield, co. York, gent., with the consent of John Barber, to John Heath of Derby, gent., of 13/3/175 above. 29 June 1742.

13/3/189. Bargain and sale by John Barber of Malcalfe, gent., to Thomas Gisborne of Derby, esq., respecting the messuages and land concerned in 13/3/187 above. 1 July 1742.

13/3/190. "Abstract of Mr. Barber's Title Deeds." 1663-1742.

13/3/191. Mortgage by John Barber of Tidswell, yeoman, to Valentine Heaward of Taddington, yeoman, of a barnstead in the fold at Malcalfe, the third part of a fold belonging to an adjoining messuage, and certain closes. 7 May 1743. With bond for performance.

13/3/192. Mortgage by Johan Lomas of Chappell in le Frith, butcher, and Mary, his wife, to Thomas Watts of Rushop Edge in the Peak Forrest, husbandman, of a parcel of enclosed land at the Clough in Bowden Edg called *the Cow pasture*. 16 Oct. 1743. With bond.

13/3/193. Conveyance from Thomas Turner of Ruthin, co. Denbigh, yeoman, to Philip Roberts of the city of London, gent., of the messuage, close, etc. called Bettfield at Bettfield in Chappel parish. 24 and 25 Oct. 1743.

13/3/194. Feoffment by Joseph Shirt of Bowden-head, yeoman, to John Shirt of the same, his son and heir, of his messuage of Bowden head and 2 dwelling houses at the Wash. 1 Nov. 1743.

13/3/195. Exemplification of a recovery by Robert Roberts, gent., against Philip Roberts, gent., respecting a messuage and land in Chappel in the Frith parish. 8 Nov. 1743.

13/3/196. Release by Josiah Shirt and Joseph Shirt, younger sons of Joseph Shirt of Bowdenhead, yeoman, to John Shirt, their brother, respecting a payment concerned in an indenture of 21 Dec. 1714. 29 Nov. 1743. With receipt.

13/3/197. "Abstract of title to lands at Breck Edge, Toothill Pasture, Oldfield, etc." belonging to Samuel Bagshaw. 1713-43. With 2 copies.

13/3/198. Conveyance from Thomas Turner of Ruthin, co. Denbigh, yeoman (grandson and heir of Thomas Turner, late of Butras Green in Bredbury, co. Chester, turner, deceased), to William Bagshaw of Ford, esq., of a messuage, close, etc., called Bettfield at Bettfield. 15 and 16 Oct. 1744.

13/3/199. Assignment from John Wilkinson of Tidswell, yeoman, to Thomas Barber of Malcalfe, yeoman, of a messuage called John Barber's farm in Malcalfe. 8 and 9 Nov. 1744. With articles and bond concerning the same.

13/3/200. Feoffment by William Barber of Malcalfe, yeoman, to his son Thomas, of a messuage and closes at Malcalfe. 13 Dec. 1744.

13/3/201. "Abract of a Title to a Messuage or Tenem^{t}. called Betfield . . . belonging to Sam^{l}. Bagshaw, Esq^{r}." 1659-1744. 3 copies.

13/3/202. Feoffment from John Lomas of Chappell, butcher, and Mary, his wife, to Capt. Samuel Bagshaw of a parcel of enclosed land at the Clough in Bowden Edge called *the Cow pasture*. 23 April 1745. With bond.

13/3/203. Abstract of title to a farm at Clough in Chapel parish belonging to Samuel Bagshaw. 1684-1745. With 2 copies.

13/3/204. Release by Samuel Kirk of White Knowle within Chinley, yeoman, to his nephew Charles Kirk of all his right in a piece of land at Roach Torr. 11 July 1746.

13/3/205. Depositions of witnesses in a case respecting the minister of Chapel-en-le-Frith. 3 March 1747. 2 items. 19th cent. copies.

13/3/206. Assignment of mortgage by Daniel Leese to Thomas Venables of Prestbury, co. Chester, gent., of the farm with closes concerned in 13/3/169 above. 8 Dec. 1747. With bond.

13/3/207. Sale by John Bennet of Slackhall, weaver, to William Bagshaw of Ford, esq., of a parcel of land formerly belonging to the Toping Houses. 16 Dec. 1749.

13/3/208. "Abstract of Title to several Parcels of Common Land and Fee Farm Rents in the parishes of Chapel en le Frith and Glossop . . . belonging to Samuel Bagshaw, esquire." 1687-1749. 3 copies.

13/3/209. Release by Godfrey Hall of Aldwork, yeoman, and others to Thomas Hyde of Chappell en le Frith, yeoman, of a messuage and land at Malcalfe. 27 March 1750.

13/3/210. Assignment by Joshua Lowe of Wincham, co. Chester, Matthew Mottershead of Adlington, co. Chester, and Thomas Bunnel of Prestbury, co. Chester, yeomen, to Sarah Norfolk of Chappel-en-le-Frith, widow, of the mortgage concerned in 13/3/206 above. 8 June 1750.

13/3/211. Conveyance from James Hall of Beeley, yeoman, to John Hood of Lawrence Poultney Hill, London, gent., of a third part of 2 closes at Bowden Edge. 12 and 13 June 1751.

13/3/212. Exemplification of a plea of recovery by John Coape against John Hood, gent., respecting land with appurtenances in Chapell in le Frith parish. 26 June 1751.

13/3/213. Bargain and sale by James Hall of Beeley, yeoman, to William Bagshaw of Ford, esq., of the land concerned in 13/3/211 above. 12 Nov. 1751.

13/3/214. Acquittance from Josiah Shirt and Joseph Shirt of Chappell Milnton in Glossop parish to their brother John for a bequest from their father Joseph Shirt of Bowdenhead, deceased. 16 Jan. 1752.

13/3/215. Agreement between Robert Hoyle of Rushop, husbandman, and his wife Ellen (widow and administratrix of Charles Kirk, late of Shire Oaks), of the one part, and John Walker of Shire Oaks, husbandman, of the other, whereby the former lease to the latter for 17 years Roich Torr with the right of commoning either on Colborn or Little Moss. 7 May 1752.

13/3/216. Will of William Barber of Malcalfe, yeoman. 22 May 1753. Probate, 18 May 1754.

13/3/217. Mortgage by James Hall of Beeley, yeoman, to James Gooddy of Rowsley in Bakewell parish, yeoman, of a third part of 2 closes in Bowden Edge, lately in the tenure of William Bagshaw. 30 April 1755.

13/3/218. Final concord between Cornelius Pickford, plaintiff, and Mary Leese, spinster, deforciant, respecting 2 messuages, premises and land in Chappell en le Frith parish. 15 days from Martinmas, 1755. With counterpart.

13/3/219. "Abstract of Title to a Close of Land . . . called Allens Dole belonging to Samuel Bagshaw, esq." 1752-5. 2 copies.

13/3/220. Indenture between the above Mary Leese and Cornelius Pickford to declare the uses of the above fine (13/3/218). 29 July 1756.

13/3/221. Bargain and sale by James Hall of Beely, yeoman, to William Bagshaw of Ford, esq., of a third part of 2 closes in Bowden Edge lying near a place called Wainstones. 28 Aug. 1756.

13/3/222. Abstract of title to a parcel of land near Wainstones in Chapel parish belonging to Samuel Bagshaw. 1714-56. With 2 copies.

13/3/223. Memorandum of an agreement between John Walker of Shire Oaks, husbandman, and Samuel Bagshaw of Ford, esq., for a lease to the latter of lands belonging to a farm leased by the former from Samuel Kirk. 20 May 1758.

13/3/224. Acquittance from Samuel Bagshaw of Ford, esq., to John Green of Chapel in le Frith, surgeon, of arrears of rent for a messuage of the said Samuel in Chapel in le Frith. 2 Feb. 1761.

13/3/225. Will of Cornelius Pickford of Chapel en le Frith, ironmonger. 8 Jan. 1777.

13/3/226. Articles of agreement between Samuel Frith of Bank, esq., and Samuel Bagshaw of Ford, esq., for getting peat on waste land called Coburne. 20 Aug. 1778. With copy.

13/3/227. Mortgage by William Barber of Malcalf, yeoman, to John Cottrill of Edale End, yeoman, of Barbers Farm lying between Bowden Head and Malcalf, together with a third part of Breck Edge formerly belonging to Thomas Barber. 4 Dec. 1778.

13/3/228. Grant by William Norfolk of Chapel in le Frith, flaxdresser, to Cornelius Pickford of the same, yeoman, of the same. 3 Aug. 1781.

13/3/229. Transfer of the above mortgage (13/3/227) to Ralph Morton of Bretton, yeoman, and mortgage to Ralph Morton of other lands. 28 March 1783.

13/3/230. Indenture between William Barber of Martin Side, yeoman, Townley Ward of Henrietta St., Covent Garden, London, gent., Joel Ratcliffe of Mellor, gent., and Mary Christiana Walker and Hannah Walker, both of Fairfield within Droylsden, co. Lanc., spinsters, for suffering a common recovery respecting 2 messuages and closes at Malcalfe within Bowden Edge (incl. the Black Piece). 23 June 1791.

13/3/231. Exemplification of a recovery by Joel Ratcliffe, gent., against Townley Ward concerning the same. 13 July 1791.

13/3/232. Transfer of the above mortgage (13/3/229) by George Morton of Hathersage, flaxdresser (son and heir of Ralph Morton), by the direction of William Barber, to Ann Morton and Elizabeth Morton of Eyam, spinsters, daughters and legatees of the said Ralph. 13 May 1795.

13/3/233. Conveyance from George Morton of Hathersage, flaxdresser, and Mary Christiana Walker and Hannah Walker of Fairfield within Droylsden, co. Lanc., by the direction of William Barber, to Samuel Bagshaw of Ford, esq., and Henry Kirk of Eaves in Chapel parish, gent., of closes called the Breck Edges at Malcalfe in Bowden Edge and the Black Piece. 12 and 13 May 1795.

13/3/234. "Abstract of the title of John Wingfield, esq^{r}., to the Manor of Bowden Hall with diverse Messuages, Lands and Tenem^{ts} in Chapel en le Frith and Derby in the county of Derby, Alvchurch and Beoley in the County of Worcester." 1696-1795.

13/3/235. Mortgage by Samuel Bagshaw of Ford esq., and Henry Kirke of Eaves, gent., to George Gould the younger of Bakewell, mercer, and John Frith the younger of Chesterfield, grocer, of the Breck Edges. 14 June 1796.

13/3/236. Release by William Barber and others to Cornelius Pickford of Chapel en le Frith, gent., of an estate called Barbers Farm or Fartherside Farm in Bowden Edge, and assignment from Micah Hall of Castleton, gent., to John Pickford of Chapel in le Frith, mercer, of the residue of a term of 1,000 years therein in trust for the said Cornelius. 4 June 1799.

13/3/237. Feoffment by John Shirt of Bowden Head, yeoman, to his daughter Ann, wife of Philemon Rowbotham of Bowden Head, carpenter, of a messuage with a piece of enclosed common at Bowden Head and 2 other messuages at the Wash in Chapel parish. 5 Nov. 1799.

13/3/238. Papers in a case respecting Chapel en le Frith tolls. 18th cent. 6 items.

13/3/239. Extract from the will of [*name not given*] to his uncle George Ward respecting a bequest to him at Chappell en le Fryth. n.d. [18th cent.].

13/3/240. "Schedule of estates situated at Bowden edge . . . belonging to Sam^{l}. Bagshaw esq^{re}. at Ford . . . for which a Certificate of the amount of the Land Tax is required." 18th cent.

13/3/241. Conveyance by William Barber of Phoside in Glossop parish, yeoman, to Henry Barber of the same, clothier, his son and heir, of 2 messuages and closes at Malcalfe within Bowden Edge on trust. 22 May 1800.

13/3/242. Mortgage by Philemon Rowbotham, Ann, his wife, and John Shirt to John Thomasson of Cadster in Chapel parish, tanner, of the premises concerned in 13/3/237 above. 20 June 1800. With final concord (and counterpart) and bond.

13/3/243. Lease for 14 years by Henry Barber of Phoside, woollen manufacturer, to James Shaw of the same, labourer, of a messuage at Malcalfe. 25 March 1801.

13/3/244. Deed of covenants concerning 13/3/242 above. 7 June 1802.

13/3/245. Will of Cornelius Pickford of Chapel en le Frith. 8 Jan. 1803. Note of probate, 24 Sept. Copy.

13/3/246. Lease for 21 years by Catherine Bagshaw of Ford Hall, widow, to Richard Middleton of Chinley, glazier, of a messuage and closes at the Wash in Chapel parish. 24 Dec. 1804.

13/3/247. Release and conveyance by Henry Barber of Phoside, clothier, to William Kirk of the same, clothier, of 2 messuages and closes at Malcalfe. 25 and 26 Jan. 1805.

13/3/248. Declaration of trust and release by William Kirk of Phoside, clothier, to Henry Barber of the same, clothier, of 2 messuages and closes at Malcalfe. 28 and 29 Jan. 1805.

13/3/249. Lease for 21 years by Catherine Bagshaw of Ford Hall, widow, to William Hoyle of Whitehall in Hope parish, farmer, of a messuage and closes in his occupation in Chapel parish. 24 June 1805.

13/3/250. Similar lease by the same to Jasper Needham of Rushop, gent., of a close in Chapel parish called Colbourn. 1 Feb. 1806. Counterpart.

13/3/251. Final concord between Edward Milne and Ralph Kinder, plaintiffs, and Thomas Milne and Christian, his wife, deforciants, respecting premises and land in Chapel parish. 15 days from Easter, 1807.

13/3/252. Deed declaring the uses of the above fine. 27 April 1807.

13/3/253. Further mortgages by Henry Barber of Phoside, clothier, to Mary Christiana Walker and Hannah Walker, both of Fairfield, co. Lanc., spinsters, of the premises concerned in 13/3/248 above. 11 and 13 Jan. 1808.

13/3/254. Mortgage by John Thomasson, Philemon Rowbotham and Ann his wife to Thomas Mather of Lee Hall within Mottram Saint Andrew, co. Chester, esq., of the premises concerned in 13/3/244 above. 26 April 1809. With bond.

13/3/255. Further mortgage by the above Philemon Rowbotham and his wife to the above Thomas Mather of the same. 2 Feb. 1811.

13/3/256. "Conditions for Sale of Mr. Henry Barber's Estate at Malcalfe." 25 July 1811.

13/3/257. Conveyance by Mary Christiana Walker, Hannah Walker and Henry Barber to the Rev. William Bagshaw of Netherthorpe in Staveley parish, of the estate concerned in 13/3/256 above. 25 Jan. 1812.

13/3/258. Lease for 21 years by Catherine Bagshaw of Ford Hall, widow, to Jasper Hall of Bagshaw, farmer, of closes in Bowden Edge, including the Breck Edges. 25 March 1812. With copy and draft.

13/3/259. Further mortgages by Philemon Rowbotham and Ann his wife to Thomas Mather of the premises concerned in 13/3/255 above at Bowden Head and Wash. 2 June 1812, 9 Dec. 1813, 8 Aug. 1817.

13/3/260. Conveyance by Thomas Gisborne of Quarndon near Loughborough, co. Leic., esq., to his father the Rev. Thomas Gisborne the elder of Yoxall Lodge, co. Staff., of reversionary interest in divers estates in the county of Derby, in Chapel en le Frith and elsewhere. 6 and 7 Sept. 1817.

13/3/261. Bond of indemnity of Edward Rowbotham of Mallcroft, yeoman, and Ann Rowbotham of Bowden head, widow, to the above Thomas Mather. 9 Feb. 1818.

13/3/262. Note of letters of administration (15 April 1758) of Thomas Barber, late of Malcalfe, yeoman, granted to Ann his widow. 1 April 1819.

13/3/263. Assignment from Isaac Hall of Castleton, gent., by the direction and appointment of John Middleton Pickford, late of Manchester, now of Heidelberg, and the Rev. William Bagshaw of Banner Cross, co. York, to the Rev. Samuel Grundy of Chapel-en-le-Frith of a term of 1,000 years, respecting the Farther Side Farm within Bowden Edge, in trust for the Rev. William Bagshaw. 26 June 1819.

13/3/264. Assignment by Henry Kirk of Eaves, gent., by the direction of John Pickford, John Middleton Pickford and Ralph Kinder, to the same of a term of 500 years, respecting the Corn Heys estate near the Wash within Bowden Edge. 26 June 1819.

13/3/265. Release in fee by the above John Middleton Pickford to the Rev. William Bagshaw and trustee of the Farther Side Farm in Bowden Edge. 26 June 1819.

13/3/266. Conveyance by John Pickford, John Middleton Pickford and Ralph Kinder to the Rev. William Bagshaw of the Corn Heys Farm near the Wash in Bowden Edge. 26 June 1819.

13/3/267. Further mortgage by Ann Rowbotham of Bowden Head, widow, and Edward Rowbotham, her son, to the above Thomas Mather of the premises concerned in 13/3/254 above. 3 March 1820.

13/3/268. Conveyance by the above Ann Rowbotham and mortgagee and another to Thomas Marriott of High Lane within Marple, co. Chester, esq., of 2 estates at Bowden Head. 14 Sept. 1824.

13/3/269. Conveyance from Thomas Fleming of Manchester and John Marriott of Hayfield, gent., to Thomas Hadfield of Cradenbrook in Mottram parish, co. Chester, gent., of that parcel of land called *the Hallhill Piece* on Peasleys in Chappell parish. 22 and 23 March 1826.

13/3/270. Appointment by William, Duke of Devonshire of George Hadfield, servant of the Rev. William Bagshaw of Banner Cross, co. York, to be his gamekeeper within the Manor of Bowden Edge. 12 Jan. 1829. With copy.

13/3/271. Receipts and papers respecting a charity chargeable on certain lands called Clough. 1687-1829. 9 items.

13/3/272. Abstract of Stephen Joule's title to 2 cottages in Chapel en le Frith sold to the Rev. William Bagshaw. 1797-1829.

13/3/273. Papers in a case between the Rev. William Bagshaw and James Hibberson respecting a stone quarry at Breck-Edges in Chapel parish. 1832. 51 items.

13/3/274. Conveyance by the Rev. Thomas Gisborne to Matthew Gisborne of Walton Hall, Walton upon Trent, esq., of a messuage with closes at Malcalfe. 21 Sept. 1836.

13/3/275. Chapel en le Frith Clothing Society: Rules (printed) and accounts. 1838. 2 items.

13/3/276. Release by Edmund Ortt of Liverpool, surgeon, and the Rev. James Parker of Preston, co. Lanc., with the consent of the latter's wife Elizabeth, to the Rev. William Bagshaw of Banner Cross, co. York, of cottages, a stable and a garden at Chapel en le Frith. 31 Dec. 1839. With draft.

13/3/277. "Abstract of the Title of Mr. Robert Hibberson to 2 Cottages and Premises situate at the Top of Chapel en le Frith." 1824-39.

13/3/278. Release by Thomas Gisborne of Horwick House in Chapel parish, esq., and the other freeholders of the parish, to Robert Needham, Samuel Needham and Jonathan Taylor, gentlemen, of waste land upon Colburn and a parcel called *the Poor Piece*, both in Chapel parish. 7 March 1840. With draft.

13/3/279. Memorandum of a purchase by the Rev. William Bagshaw from the Guardians of the Poor of Chapel en le Frith Union of 2 acres of land on Rushop Edge in the township of Bowden Edge. 30 March 1840.

13/3/280. Conveyance from the above Guardians to the above William of the same. 20 July 1840.

13/3/281. Poor Rate Book for Bowden Edge. 1842.

13/3/282. Papers relating to the quarry at Breck Edge. 1843. 3 items.

13/3/283. Miscellaneous papers respecting the building of a school at Chapel en le Frith. 1834-43. 30 items.

13/3/284. Mortgage by Robert Marshall of Chapel en le Frith, brewer, and his trustee to Joseph Morten of Haylee in Chapel parish, farmer, and his trustee, of closes in Combs Edge within Chapel en le Frith. 10 March 1845.

13/3/285. Release by Thomas Gisborne and others to the Rev. William Bagshaw of the 2 parcels of waste land concerned in 13/3/278 above. 30 July 1847. With draft.

13/3/286. "Abstract of the Title [1840] of Thomas Gisborne and others to certain parcels of waste land in Chapel-en-le-Frith." 1847.

13/3/287. Papers relating to the tithes of Chapel and Chinley. 1838-47. 31 items.

CHESTERFIELD

13/3/288. Indenture of covenants between Anne White of Chesterfeild, widow, of the one part, and James Milnes, ironmonger, and William Champernoone, gent., both of the same, of the other part, respecting a messuage with appurtenances in Hollywell Streete in Chesterfeild. 28 Aug. 1671.

13/3/289. Sale by George White of Chesterfield, feltmaker, to Richard Youle of the same, leadmerchant, of land in Chesterfield parish in a meadow called the *Lady meadowe*. 11 Aug. 1694. With bond.

13/3/290. Conveyance by John Wingfield of Wirksworth, gent., and Susanna, his wife, to John Bright of Chesterfield, gent., of a parcel of ground in Chesterfield and a cottage in Hasland. 3 and 4 May 1703.

13/8/291. Mortgage by Isabel Croft of Chesterfeild, widow, to Marmaduke Carver, the younger, of the same, gent., of a messuage called Spittle house and lands in Chesterfield parish. 10 March 1715. (Imperf.)

13/3/292. Will of John Bright of Chesterfield, esq. 9 Feb. 1721. Probate, 18 Dec. 1734.

13/3/293. Will of John Bright of Chesterfield, esq. 25 March 1748. Probate, 14 July 1752.

13/3/294. Lease for [*blank*] years by George Smyth of North Nibley otherwise Nypley, co. Glouc., esq. (assignee of a lease of the rectory of Chesterfield parish church and of the glebe land, tithes, etc.) to John Bright of Chesterfield, esq. of the close called *Deans Yard* in Chesterfield and an adjoining cottage with tithes. [*Blank for day and month*], 1750. (Uncompleted.)

13/3/295. Note respecting a conveyance from Lord John Murray and others of 3 houses in Chesterfield. 13 May 1783.

13/3/296. Petition respecting Chesterfield Turnpike. n.d. [18th cent.]

CHINLEY

13/3/297. Lease for 21 years by Catherine Bagshaw of Ford Hall, widow, to George Eyre of Kinder, farmer, of land in Chindley called the *Roich* and the *Roich Meadow* with a building thereon. 25 March 1807. With counterpart.

13/3/298. Similar lease by the Rev. William Bagshaw to Thomas Lomas of Shireoaks, yeoman. 19 July 1828.

DALE HEAD

13/3/299. Conveyance by Rowland Eyre of Hassopp, esq., and Thomas, his son, to Thomas Rollin of Dale Head, yeoman, of a messuage and land at Dale Head. 15 and 16 April 1723.

13/3/300. Mortgage by the above Thomas Rollin to Ann Wright of Derby, widow, of a messuage and closes at Dale Head. 5 Aug. 1730.

13/3/301. Will of Thomas Rawlin the elder of Dalehead near Tidswell, yeoman. 24 April 1732. Copy.

13/3/302. Assignment of the above mortgage (13/3/300) to Henry Kirk of Eaves in Chapel parish and Henry Longden the younger of Ferney Lee, yeomen. 15 Aug. 1732.

13/3/303. Conveyance by William Ferne of Alstanfield, co. Staff., yeoman, Jane Rawlins (widow of Thomas Rawlins) and James Rawlins, son of the said Thomas, to William Bagshaw of Abney Grange, yeoman, of Jacksons Farm *alias* the Over Living. 27 and 28 March 1733.

13/3/304. Assignment by the above Henry Kirk and Henry Longden to Robert Bagshaw of Little Hucklow, butcher, of the Over Farm *alias* Jacksons Living. 28 March 1733.

13/3/305. Conveyance by Thomas Bagshaw of Chapel en le Frith, flax dresser, to John Bagshaw of Oakes, esq., of Jacksons Farm *alias* the Overliving and closes at Dale Head. 5 and 6 April 1797. With letters of administration of the said John (19th cent. copy).

DENBY

13/3/306. Assignment by John Bright of Chesterfield, esq., to Robert Wood of Swanwick, gent., of a mortgage of a messuage and land at Denby. 4 April 1747.

DORE

13/3/307. Schedule of documents concerning a lead mill at Dore. 1629-c. 1645.

13/3/308. Feoffment by Anthony Bright of Dore, yeoman, to Joshua Brooke of Lawrence Lane, London, wholesale hosier, and William Brooke of Dodworth, co. York, tanner, of his messuages, etc. at Dore, Wadsley, co. York, and Brendcliffe Edge, co. York. 23 Jan. 1674.

13/3/309. Lease for 21 years by James Shemield of Sheffeild, clerk, and Mercurius Shemield of Billingly in Darfeild parish, co. York, tanner, to Thomas Marriot of Sheffeild, co. York, gent., of a smelting mill or house called the Upper Mill at Doare Towne end. 13 July 1693.

13/3/310. Conveyance by Mary Shemeild, widow of the above Mercurius, and Jonathan, his son, to Robert Clay of Sheffeild Park in Sheffeild parish, co. York, gent., of the above smelting mill. 28 and 29 Sept. 1714.

13/3/311. Lease for 7 years by the above Mary Shemeld [*sic*] to Richard Wagge and John Wagge of Dore, smelters, of a messuage and land in Dore. 16 Aug. 1721.

13/3/312. Conveyance by Mary Shemeld and her sons to Robert Clay of Bridgehouses in Sheffeild parish, co. York, lead merchant, of a messuage and land at Dore. 30 and 31 July 1722.

13/3/313. "Dore Inclosure. Allotments of Common Land made to the Devisees of Joseph Clay." 1820. Plan.

13/3/314. "Extract from the Award for Inclosure of Lands [on Dore Moor] in the Parish of Dronfield." 1837.

13/3/315. Conveyance by George Greaves of Elmsall Lodge in South Kirkby parish, co. York, esq., to Henry Marwood Greaves of Hesley, co. Notts., esq., of an estate at Dore. 21 and 22 Aug. 1838.

DRONFIELD

13/3/316. Will of Joseph Jackson of Dronfield, gent. 9 Sept. 1758. Codicil, 30 Sept.

13/3/317. Lease for 5 years by Abel Tinker to the Rev. William Bagshaw of a messuage and closes at Dronfield. 22 Nov. 1798. (Imperf.)

ECKINGTON

13/3/318. Sale by George Sytwell of Eckington, yeoman, to William Rotherhame, son and heir of John Rotherhame of the same, yeoman, of all his part of a close called *Riddinges* in Eckington parish. 15 June 1603.

13/3/319. Sale by William Rotherham of Eckington, yeoman, to George Sitwell of Reyneshaw, gent., of land in Eckington. 9 Nov. 1633. With duplicate.

13/3/320. Exchange between William Rotherham the elder of Eckington, yeoman, Helen, his wife, and William the younger, his son, of the one part, and George Sitwell of Renishaw, gent., of the other part, of land in Eckington. 22 Nov. 1648.

13/3/321. Conveyance by the same to Henry Wigfall of Reneshawe, esq., of land in Eckington. 4 March 1651.

13/3/322. Bond of Henry Wigfall to William Rotherham respecting a surrender of land in Eckington. 4 March 1651.

13/3/323. Release by Henry Wigfall, George Sitwell and others to William Rotherham of all their right in certain land in Eckington. 4 Sept. 1651.

13/3/324. Conveyance by William Rotherham to Christopher Treeton of Eckington, yeoman, of closes in Eckington. 25 March 1654.

13/3/325. Surrender by Benjamin Heathcoate of Chesterfeild, yeoman, of an acre of land in Renishawe. 31 May 1694. (Extract from proceedings at the Court Baron of Eckington.)

13/3/326. Similar surrender by George Atton of Chesterfeild, doctor of medicine, of a messuage in Eckington called *Le Towne head house* and land. 11 April 1700.

13/3/327. Similar surrender by William Froggatt of " that sickle grinding mill or wheel erected on part of a certain close or parcel of land called the Nether Gill Field situate within the manor " [of Eckington]. 24 March 1796.

EDALE

13/3/328. Conveyance by Joseph Hadfield of Whitmoore lee booth in Edall to Robert Needham of Perry Foot in the Peake Forrest, yeoman, of a moiety of land called *Tommey Banke*, part of the vaccary of Whitmore lee booth and a close called *the Stake Banke* in Edall. 9 and 10 Nov. 1722. With bond.

13/3/329. Conveyance by the above Robert Needham to Samuel Eccles of Tidswell, gent., of the same. 23 and 24 March 1727/8.

13/3/330. Conveyance by Elizabeth Eccles the elder of Tidswell, widow, and others, to William Bagshaw of Ford, esq., of a moiety of land called *Tommey Bank*, parcell of the vaccary of Whitmoor lee Booth, a close called *the Stake Bank* and unenclosed land on a moor or common called Couburn. 2 and 3 Nov. 1747. With bond.

13/3/331. Lease for 7 years by William Bagshaw of Ford, esq., to William Carrington of Whitmore le Booth *alias* Barber Booth in Edale and Robert, his son, of the same, yeomen, of a parcel of land enclosed or unenclosed called the *Stake Bank* or the *Tommy Bank* with appurtenances. 4 Dec. 1751.

13/3/332. Lease for 21 years by Catherine Bagshaw of Ford Hall, widow, to Robert Needham of Perry Foot in the Liberty of Peek Forest, farmer, of a close called *the Stake Bank* and a common right on Edale Moss called *Cowburn*. 25 March 1812. With draft.

ELMTON

13/3/333. Appointment of Francis Foxlowe, vicar of Elmton, as rural dean of Elmton. 2 Aug. 1837.

13/3/334. Miscellaneous papers respecting Elmton vicarage (incl. terriers and extracts from the cartulary of Thurgarton priory). 19th cent. 13 items.

ELTON

13/3/335. Mortgage by John Bright of Chesterfield, esq., by the direction of Francis Millner of Elton, yeoman, to Bache Thornhill of Stanton, esq., of premises and closes in Elton. 25 March 1742. Counterpart.

FAIRFIELD

13/3/336. Charter of Elizabeth I founding a perpetual chapel and almshouse at Fairfield. 22 Nov. 1594. Copy.

13/3/337. " An Act for Dividing and inclosing the several Open Fields, Common Pasture, Commons and Waste Grounds, within the Township, Hamlet or Liberty of Fairfield." 1771. (Printed.)

FORD

13/3/338. Feoffment by Richard Vernon of Hasilbache, esq., to Godfrey Foliambe, kt., Robert Shakresley, gent., William Bagshawe, vicar of Hope,

and Christopher Gardyner, chaplain, of all his land and tenements in the vills and fields of Foorth, Chapell le Frith, Castilton and Bradwall with all their appurtenances, to fulfil his last Will. 7 Sept. 1523. Annexed is the relevant portion of Richard Vernon's will.

13/3/339. Sale by Nicholas Creswell of Forth, yeoman, to his son Anthony of all his messuages, lands, etc., lying within the fields and territories of Forthe. 18 Jan. 1575. With copy.

13/3/340. Settlement before the marriage of Anthony Creswell of Foorde, yeoman, and Elizabeth Bawdon, daughter of George Bawden [*sic*] the elder of Bawden, gent. 27 Feb. 1579.

13/3/341. Grant by the above Anthony Creswell to Thomas Dakyn and George Bowden, jun., of all his messuages, etc., in Forde, Malcaffe and Bowden in the separate tenures of the said Anthony and Agnes his mother, in fulfillment of the above marriage settlement. 28 Feb. 1579. With modern copy.

13/3/342. Sale by Francis Vernon of Tiddeswall, gent., to Anthony Creswell of Forde, gent., of a pasture called *Le Close* in Forde with appurtenances. 4 Oct. 1586. With bond.

13/3/343. Quitclaim by Oliver Creswell of Newbolde and George Creswell of Brampton, yeomen, to Francis Vernon of Tyddeswall, gent., of all their right in that messuage with appurtenances at a certain place called le Forthe, lately in the tenure of William Slacke and George Creswell, and of premises in Chappell in le Frythe lately in the tenure of Peter Wrighte. 24 Aug. 1596.

13/3/344. Conveyance by Francis Vernon of Tyddeswall, gent., to Anthony Creswell of messuages, lands, etc. in the Forde and elsewhere in Chappell parish lately in the tenure of the said Anthony, George Creswell and William Slacke, and a messuage in Chappell in lee Frithe lately in the occupation of Peter Wrighte. 25 Aug. 1596.

13/3/345. Lease for 3 lives by Thomas Yevelie the elder of Chappell in le Fryth, yeoman, and his son and heir Thomas to Robert Yevelie, " reputed sonn to the sayd Thomas Yevelie theldre ", of a messuage in Ford *alias* Forth. 28 Feb. 1620.

13/3/346. Settlement before the marriage of Nicholas Creswell (son and heir of Anthony Creswell of Ford, gent.) and Lucy Bradshawe (sister of Francis Bradshawe of Bradshawe, esq.). 24 Sept. 1621.

13/3/347. Feoffment by Anthony Yeveley of Mellor, clerk, to Thomas Greene of Waters in Bollington, co. Chester, yeoman, of a messuage with appurtenances in Forde *alias* Forth. 20 Aug. 1632.

13/3/348. Conveyance by Nicholas Cresswell of the Foard *alias* Foarth, gent., Lucy his wife and Barbara their daughter and heir, to John Bretland of Thorncliffe, gent., and Peter Ashe of Bradshawe Hall in Chappell parish, yeoman, of a capital messuage at the Ford wherein Nicholas, Lucy and Barbara live, with appurtenances, 6 cottages in Chappell in Le Frith, and closes called *Colinhey* in the parishes of Glossope and Chappell in Le Frith. 1 June 1647.

13/3/349. Regrant by the above John and Peter to the above Nicholas of the same. 20 Sept. 1647.

13/3/350. Conveyance by James Creswell of Hardwicke, gent., his brothers Francis and Ralph, Lucy Creswell of Foard (widow of Nicholas Creswell) and Barbara her daughter to Robert Ashton of Stonie Middleton,

yeoman, of their capital messuage, etc., in Foard and a messuage in Chappell in le Frith which were formerly of the late Anthony Creswell and his son Nicholas. 16 April 1648.

13/3/351. Agreement between Robert Ashton of Stonie Middleton, yeoman, and Nicholas Ashton of Castleton, yeoman, respecting a recovery of a messuage, cottages, land, etc. at Foard and Chappell in le Frith. 1 June 1649.

13/3/352. Sale by Edward Barber of Cloughe in Chappell parish, yeoman, to Robert Ashton of Stonie Middleton, yeoman, of parcels of land called *Shoabroad* and an adjoining parcel in Malcalffe feilds *alias* Foard feilds in Chappell parish. 6 April 1650.

13/3/353. Feoffment by Nicholas Yonge of Foard, yeoman, to his son Anthony of a messuage in Foard *alias* Foarth in Chappell parish in the latter's tenure, with appurtenances. 13 Feb. 1653.

13/3/354. Conveyance from Robert Asheton of Stonye Middleton, gent., to William Bagshawe of Greate Hucklowe, gent., of a capital messuage commonly called the Foard in Chappell parish with appurtenances and a messuage in Chappelle in Le Frith and parcels of land called *Shoebroad* and *the Sitch* in Malcalfe fields *alias* Foard fields in Chappell parish with all appurtenances. 22 Jan. 1663.

13/3/355. Final concord between William Bagshaw, gent., plaintiff, and Robert Ashton, gent., and Alice his wife, deforciants, respecting 2 messuages, cottages and land with appurtenances in Chappell in le Frith and Foard. Quind. of Easter 1663.

13/3/356. Receipt from Robert Asheton of Stonye Middleton, gent., to William Bagshaw of Greate Hucklowe, gent., for purchase money concerned in 13/3/354 above. 30 June 1663.

13/3/357. Lease for a year by William Bagshaw of Foard, gent., to Henry Kirke the elder of Martinside, yeoman, and Nicholas Bagshaw of Chappell en le Fryth, joiner, of the capital messuage, lands, etc. called the Foard or Malcalfe, a messuage, lands, etc., at Hargatwall, Hill and Wormhill, a portion of land at Wormhill in the tenure of John Moorewood, clerk, a messuage, lands, etc. at Wormhill, and lands, etc. at Wormhill, Kemsill within Peake Forrest and Lose hill and within the herbage of Rushopp, and a burgage with appurtenances in Chappell en le Fryth in the occupation of John Lomas. 13 Oct. 1679.

13/3/358. Lease for 2000 years by Richard Greenesmith of Foard, yeoman, to Anthony Younge of the same, yeoman, of a close called *Overfeild* at Foard. 22 June 1699. With 3 abstracts.

13/3/359. Will of William Bagshaw of Ford, minister of the Gospel. 15 Oct. 1701. Copy.

13/3/360. "Abstract of Title to a Capital Messuage and Lands at Ford, Collin Hays, Rushop and Peak Forest." 15 Hen. VIII-10 Anne. 3 copies.

13/3/361. Indenture of covenants between William Bagshaw of Ford, gent., of the first part, Richard Bagshaw of Castleton, gent., of the second part, and Charles Potts of Castleton, gent., of the third part, for the levying of a fine respecting the Ford, Wormhill, Peake Forrest, Chappell in le Fryth and other estates of the late Samuel Bagshaw of Ford, gent. 1 June 1713. With final concord and counterpart.

13/3/362. Exemplification of a recovery respecting the same. 25 June 1713.

13/3/363. Ford rent accounts. 1703-18. 24 items.

13/3/364. Lease for 21 years by John Hutchinson of Stainsbrow, gent., to William Bagshaw of Ford of land in Brookedge and Greenlow lying between the Ford and Bettfield. 28 Sept. 1724.

13/3/365. Abstracts of deeds to property at Ford, Wormhill, etc. 1662-1725. 11 ff.

13/3/366. Settlement before the marriage of William Bagshaw of Ford, gent., and Mary Wingfeild, spinster (daughter of John Wingfeild of Norton, esq.). 23 Sept. 1727.

13/3/367. Schedule of title deeds to property at Ford, Wormhill, etc. 1727.

13/3/368. Sale by Thomas Hartle of Bole hill in Chappell parish, husbandman, to William Bagshaw of Ford, esq., of all his personal estate (household goods, corn, hay, cows, etc.). 1 Dec. 1735.

13/3/369. Surrender by Anne Young of Spinerbotham in Glossop parish, widow, to Joseph Tricket of Malcalfe, yeoman, of the messuage called Ford, closes belonging to the same and a cottage in Chappell parish. 1 May 1742.

13/3/370. Conveyance from Joseph Tricket of Malcalfe, yeoman, to Edward Dickinson of Saint Clements Danes parish, co. Middx., gent., and Samuel Joynes of the Midle Temple, London, gent., of the same. 10 and 11 May 1742.

13/3/371. Articles of agreement between the above Joseph Tricket and the above Anne Young respecting the same. 19 June 1742.

13/3/372. Exemplification of a plea of recovery by William Radcliffe against Edward Dickinson and Samuel Joynes, gents., of 2 messuages and land with appurtenances in the parishes of Chappell in the Frith and Glossop. 7 July 1742.

13/3/373. Sale by the above Joseph Tricket to the above William Bagshaw of the messuage commonly called Ford with closes, a messuage in Chappell parish called Slack Hall with closes, and closes on Malcalfe Moor in Chappell parish. 11 Nov. 1743.

13/3/374. Sale by the above Joseph Trickett to the above William Bagshaw of a messuage called Ford with closes on Malcalfe Moor. 12 Nov. 1743.

13/3/375. Abstract of title to messuages, etc. at Ford and Slack Hall belonging to Samuel Bagshaw, esq. 1653-1743. 3 copies.

13/3/376. Note of a case concerning Clough Lands and the assessors of Land Tax. June 1746.

13/3/377. Lease by Anthony Radcliffe of Spinnerbottom in Glossop parish, gent., and Ann, his wife, to the above William Bagshaw of a messuage at the Ford called *Mrs. Youngs Tenement* with appurtenances, for the life of the said Ann. 10 Jan. 1748/9.

13/3/378. Will of Mary Bagshaw, wife of William Bagshaw of Ford. 30 May 1749. Codicil, 28 Feb. 1753. Probate, 30 March 1758. Copy.

13/3/379. "Abstract of Title to certain Fee Farm rents belonging to Sam^{l}. Bagshaw, esq^{r}." 1687-1751. 3 copies.

13/3/380. Abstract of 2 leases (4 April 1751, 26 July 1753) respecting part of the estate belonging to Samuel Bagshawe.

13/3/381. Will of William Bagshaw of Ford, esq. 9 Nov. 1756. 2 copies.

13/3/382. "Abstract of several Releases for several Legacies." 1757-60. 3 copies.

13/3/383. Will of Samuel Bagshawe of Ford, esq., Colonel of the 93rd Regt. of Foot. n.d. [He died 16 August 1762.] With papers relating to the same. 4 items.

13/3/384. Conveyance by Samuel Bagshaw late of Ford, now of Brazen Nose College, Oxford, esq., to Samuel Cooper of Quality Court, Chancery Lane, co. Middx., gent., of Ford Hall, with appurtenances, closes in the parishes of Chapel en le Frith and Castleton, messuages called the Clough, Bolehill, Youngs Farm, Colinhays, and Hill Farm, with other messuages, lands and closes in the parishes etc. of Chapel en le Frith, Castleton, Glossop, Tideswell and Hope, and with a pew in Chapel parish church. 13 and 14 Nov. 1775.

13/3/385. Exemplification of a recovery by William Cooper, gent., against Samuel Cooper, gent., respecting the same. 28 Nov. 1775.

73/3/386. Conveyance by the above Samuel Bagshaw to the above Samuel Cooper, of Ford Hall with closes in the parishes of Chapel and Castleton, messuages called the Clough and Bolehill, Youngs Farm, Colinhays, Hill Farm and messuages, lands and closes in the parishes of Chapel en le Frith, Castleton, Glossop, Tideswell and Hope. 8 and 9 Feb. 1779.

13/3/387. "A Further Abstract of the Title of Sam[l]. Bagshaw, Esq[r]., to his Estate in Derbyshire." 1775-81.

13/3/388. Conveyance from Samuel Bagshaw of Ford, esq. (son and heir of the late Samuel Bagshaw), to John Gee, clerk, and John Green, apothecary, both of Chapell in Le Frith, of his estates for securing an annuity to his mother and for raising by sale or mortgage the portions of his brothers and sister. 8 and 9 Aug. 1784. With draft.

13/3/389. Abstract of a conveyance of the estates of Samuel Bagshaw upon trust. 10 Aug. 1784.

13/3/390. Bonds of indemnity of Samuel Bagshaw. 1776-96. 13 items.

13/3/391. Papers in a legal dispute respecting the settlement made for his wife and children by the late Colonel Samuel Bagshawe (d. 1762). 18th cent. 40 items.

13/3/392. "Writeings relateing to the Bolehill and Tommoor Lands." 18th cent.

13/3/393. "An account of Title Deeds [1523-1749] Delivered to me [Samuel Bagshawe] by M[r]. Hall." n.d. [18th cent.]

13/3/394. Miscellaneous documents respecting an estate at Ford purchased by Thomas Bower of Halifax, working cutler. 1664-1808. 7 items.

13/3/395. Will of Catherine Bagshaw, widow. 4 Jan. 1815. Codicil, 5 Dec. 1827. With papers relating to the same. 29 items.

13/3/396. Probate copy (22 June 1819) of the will of William Bagshaw, son of the Rev. William Bagshaw. With papers relating to the same. 5 items.

13/3/397. Miscellaneous bills and receipts of Mrs. Catherine Bagshaw. 1806-20. 50 items.

13/3/398. Miscellaneous bonds of Catherine Bagshaw of Ford. 1802-28. 9 items.

13/3/399. Papers concerning the personal estate of Mrs. Anne Bagshawe (d. 1844). 42 items.

13/3/400. Will of the Rev. William Bagshaw of Banner Cross, co. York. 18 Sept. 1847. With papers relating to the same. 35 items.

13/3/401. Miscellaneous papers concerning the Ford estate. 18th-19th cent. 23 items.

HASLAND

13/3/402. Conveyance by Isabell Croft of Chesterfeild, widow, and William Sharshaw of the same, mercer, and Isabella, his wife, daughter of the said Isabell, to John Bright of the same, gent., of premises and land at Hasland. 1 and 2 June 1720.

13/3/403. Lease for 99 years by John Bright, esq., to Elizabeth Watson of Chesterfield, spinster, of closes in Hasland. 14 Nov. 1745.

13/3/404. "An Act for Dividing and Inclosing the several Commons and Waste Grounds within the Manor of Hasland." 1779. Printed.

HIGH PEAK

13/3/405. "The trewe coppye of the certyficate made and agreed uppon betweene the farmors and fosters [*sic*] of the Foreste of Highe Peake." 1586. 19th cent. copy.

13/3/406. *Altum Peccum : Computus Johannis Shalcrosse, Armigeri, Receptori et Ballivi ibidem.* 1[7?] Charles I.

13/3/407. Appointment of William, Duke of Devonshire as Chief Steward of the manor of High Peak. 12 July 1729.

13/3/408. Depositions of witnesses in a case in the Duchy Court of Lancaster between Thomas Eyre, Richard Bagshaw and others, complainants, and Thomas Bradshaw, Edward Swann and others, defendants. 1739.

13/3/409. Appointment by William, Duke of Devonshire, High Steward of the Manor of the High Peak, of William Bagshaw, esq., and Micah Hall, gent., as his deputies. n.d. [18th cent.] Draft.

HOPE

13/3/410. Sale by Henry Sacheverell of Ratcliff upon Sore, co. Nott., esq., to William Goodeyn of Cowlowe in Hope parish, yeoman, of part of a messuage called *Cowlowe*, with appurtenances, in Hope parish. 27 Nov. 1572. With copy.

13/3/411. Agreement respecting the marriage of William Goodden and Alice Ferne. 31 May 1582. With copy.

13/3/412. Indenture of covenants between William Goodwyn of Cowlowe, yeoman, and Richard Goodwyn, his brother, of the one part, and John Dale of Chelmarton, yeoman, and Anne, daughter of the said William, of the other part, respecting a fine concerning land at Cowlowe and Fayrrfeild. 10 Dec. 1605. With copy.

13/3/413. Surrender by the above William Goodwyn to the above John Dale of a messuage and premises with appurtenances in Cowlowe. 20 July 1610.

13/3/414. Declaration respecting a fine concerning Richard Goodwyn of Hordlowe and Nicholas Whyte of Chelmerton, yeomen, and premises and land in Cowlowe and Chelmerton and elsewhere in co. Derby. 13 Aug. 1613.

13/3/415. Feoffment by William Dale the younger of Chelmarton, to Stephen Sheldon of Prescliffe and Richard Goodwin of Chelmarton, yeomen, of a moiety of 2 messuages and land in Cowlowe. 12 May 1673. Counterpart.

13/3/416. Assignment by William Harrison of Glutton, yeoman, to Adam Bagshaw of Wormhill, gent., of lands in Cowlowe, with appurtenances, and in Greene Fairefeild and the *Over End* in Wormhill township. 15 June 1675.

13/3/417. Feoffment by Adam Bagshawe of Wormehill, gent., to George Goodwyn of Tunstead, yeoman, of messuages with appurtenances in Cowloe and such part of the ground called the *Over End* of Greene Fairefeild as belongs to them. 15 May 1679.

13/3/418. "Abstract of the Title Deeds, etc., of an Estate at Cowlowe." 1573-1679.

13/3/419. Conveyance by Adam Bagshawe of Wormhill, gent., to John Ashe of Tidswall, gent., of all that parcel of commons on a place called *Black Edge* in Hope parish or Chappell in le Frith. 12 April 1703.

13/3/420. Settlement before the marriage of John Ash of Tiddeswall, gent., and Sarah Swetnam (daughter of Thomas Swetnam of Kings Newton, gent.). 3 May 1703.

13/3/421. Grant by Richard Bagshaw of Castleton, esq., to John Gill of Chamber Hall, co. Lanc., gent., of an annuity issuing from premises in Hope. 20 Oct. 1732.

13/3/422. Will of William Bagshaw of Abney Grange in Hope parish, yeoman. 6 June 1740. Copy.

13/3/423. "Abstract of the Title of the Devisees of Philip Gell, Esquire, deceased, to Tyths and Lands at Hope." 1200-1797.

13/3/424. Releases of legacies under the will of Thomas Bagshaw, late of Abney Grange, yeoman. 1796-7. 5 items.

13/3/425. Articles of agreement between John Cruso of Leek, co. Staff., gent. (on behalf of John Gell of Langattock in the principality of Wales, Admiral of the Blue, and the Rev. James Wilkinson of Broomhall, co. York), of the one part, and John Bagshaw of the Oakes, esq., and George Robinson of Hope, of the other part, respecting the tithes of Hope. 24 June 1799.

13/3/426. "A Bill for Dividing, Allotting and Laying in Severality the Open and Common Fields, Common Meadows . . . within the Hamlets of Hope, Bradwall, Aston, and Thornhill in Hope parish . . . and also for dividing and inclosing the Commons and Waste Grounds within the Said Hamlet of Bradwall." n.d. [18th cent.].

13/3/427. Abstract of a conveyance by John Gell and James Wilkinson, at the request and by the direction and appointment of Philip Gell, to William, Duke of Devonshire, of lands and tithes in the towns, parishes, liberties, precincts or territories of Birchills, Chatsworth, Brushfield, Cowlow, Fairfield, Nimfield and Woodland. 8 and 9 Oct. 1800.

13/3/428. Conveyance by John Gell of Langattock, co. Brecknock, esq., Admiral of the Blue, the Rev. James Wilkinson of Broomhall in Sheffield

parish, co. York, and Philip Gell of Hopton, esq., of the one part, to John Bagshaw of the Oakes, esq., of the other part, of the manor of Hope and tithes of grain and hay in the vill or hamlet of Wormhill. 10 and 11 Oct. 1800.

13/3/429. Mutual general release between Micah Hall of Castleton, esq., and the Rev. William Bagshaw of Dronfield. 6 Aug. 1802.

13/3/430. "Money Expended for the Use of Hope Church." April 1811-December 1812.

13/3/431. Miscellaneous papers respecting Hope tithes (corn and hay). 1794-1826. 66 items.

HUCKLOW, LITTLE

13/3/432. Will of Robert Bagshaw of Little Hucklow, butcher. 25 October 1762. Copy. With letter concerning the same (1797).

KINDER

13/3/433. Release of John Gee of Kinder to Ralph Gee of the same, yeoman, for money bequeathed by the late Francis Gee. 23 July 1729.

LITTON

13/3/434. "Account of S^{r}. Jn^{o}. Halhames Estate at Litton." 1741.

MAPPERLEY

13/3/435. Conveyance by Mary Swetnam of Derby, spinster (one of the daughters and heirs of Elizabeth Swetnam of Kings Newton), to Robert Holden of the Inner Temple, London, esq., and Abraham Crompton, the younger, of Derby, gent., of two fifth parts of the manor of Mapperley with appurtenances, and a farm called the *Chappell House Farme* in Mapperley. 9 and 10 Jan. 1718/19.

MATLOCK

13/3/436. Surrender by William Bennett of land in Matlocke. 7 May 1647. (Extract from proceedings at the Great Court Baron.)

13/3/437. Conveyance by John Bright of Chesterfeild, esq., to Marmaduke Pennell of Nottingham, gent., of land in Matlocke, and agreement for the surrender of a messuage and close in the manor of Matlocke. 15 Sept. 1727.

NEWBOLD

13/3/438. Settlement before the marriage of William Lee of Chesterfield, coverlet weaver, and Troth Wainwright (sister of William Wainwright of London). 13 Sept. 1687.

NORTON

13/3/439. Exemplification of a plea of recovery by John Bullock, esq., and Thomas Bocking, gent., against Thomas Barten, respecting messuages and land in Norton and Norton Lees. 28 Nov. 1637.

13/3/440. Exemplification of a final concord between Malin [?] Sorsby, gent., plaintiff, and Thomas Barton, gent., and Mary, his wife, deforciants, respecting messuages, etc. in Norton. 10 June 1668.

13/3/441. Plea of recovery by John Parker against John Lee respecting a messuage and land in Oakes and Norton. Mich. 1677. Copy.

13/3/442. Conveyance by Margaret Stacy of Sheffield, co. York, widow, and her son Christopher to John Bright of Banner Cross, co. York., gent., and Thomas Webster of Chesterfeild, tanner, of premises and land in Norton. 19 April 1697.

13/3/443. Settlement before the marriage of Christopher Stacey of Sheffield, co. York, tallow chandler, and Ann Bright. 20 April 1697.

13/3/444. Miscellaneous legal bills of the Bagshawes of the Oakes. 1681-1738. 8 items.

13/3/445. Sale by George Machin of Norton, carpenter, to Richard Bagshaw of the same, esq., of goods, etc., in and belonging to the said George's house in Norton parish. 21 May 1755.

13/3/446. Legal papers in Bagshawe *v.* Jenkins. 1778. 5 items.

13/3/447. Will of William Bagshaw of Oakes, esq. 9 May 1785. Codicil, 11 May. Copy of exemplification (with note of probate, 20 Dec.).

13/3/448. Will of John Bagshaw of Oakes, esq. 17 Feb. 1787. Probate, 26 April 1795.

13/3/449. Legal papers in Bagshawe *v.* Hiort. 1786-9. 8 items.

13/3/450. Paper in a case between John Bagshaw, plaintiff, and Henry Lambert and William Lambert, defendants, respecting Barnoldswick Mill, co. York. 1796.

13/3/451. Legal papers in a case concerning the Leeds and Liverpool Canal. 1795-8. 6 items.

13/3/452. Legal papers in a case concerning the executors of William Hodgkinson, steward of Richard Bagshawe, jun. 1799-1800. 13 items.

13/3/453. Miscellaneous legal papers in a case respecting the weir at Walk Mill dam in Norton parish. 1800. 7 items.

13/3/454. Papers concerning appointments by the Duke of Devonshire of John Bagshawe as a gamekeeper. 1792-1800. 4 items.

13/3/455. Will of John Bagshawe of the Oakes, esq. 20 Aug. 1801. Probate, 18 Dec. With 2 copies and 2 papers relating to the same.

13/3/456. "An Inventory of the Title Deeds [17th-18th cent.] of the Estates belonging to y^{e} late Jn^{o}. Bagshaw, esq^{re}., deced., and which are now in y^{e} possession of doctor Darling, at the Oakes." 10 Oct. 1801.

13/3/457. "Schedule of Deeds and Writings relating to Estates in Derbyshire and Yorkshire Mortgaged by John Bagshaw of the Oakes . . . to Michael Shaw of Dronfield." 1572-1801.

13/3/458. Law bills of John Bagshawe of the Oakes, esq. 1793-1801. 23 items.

13/3/459. Miscellaneous papers, mostly legal, concerning the Bagshawes of the Oakes. 18th-19th cent. 23 items.

PALTERTON

13/3/460. Grant by Mary Dalton of Banner Cross, spinster, to her aunt Isabella Dalton, of the same, spinster, of an annuity issuing from premises at Palterton, Riley and Newbold. 9 Sept. 1758. Copy.

PEAK FOREST

13/3/461. General release by Samuel Fryth of Peake Forrest, yeoman, to John Fryth of the same, husbandman. 28 Aug. 1685.

13/3/462. Miscellaneous receipts respecting Samuel and John Fryth. 1680-91. 13 items.

13/3/463. Lease for 21 years by William Bagshaw of Ford, esq., to Robert Longden and Henry Walker, both of Wormhill, yeomen, of a farm called *Kemshill* in the Peak Forrest. 28 Jan. 1741/2.

13/3/464. Lease for 42 years by the same to John Frith of Bagshaw, Jasper Frith of the Bank in Chapel parish and Samuel Frith of the Chamber in the Forest, gentlemen, of closes called *Lossel alias Losehill.* 4 April 1751.

13/3/465. Extract from Samuel Frith's will respecting a bequest to the poor of Peak Forest. 6 Nov. 1773.

13/3/466. Accounts of ore measured in the Liberty or Lordship of Peak Forest. 1801-2. 4 items.

RUSHUP

13/3/467. Lease for 21 years by William Bagshaw of Ford, esq., to Robert Needham of Perry in the Peak Forrest, yeoman, of a parcel of ground in Rushopp. 3 April 1741.

13/3/468. "Abstract of Title to one fourth of hereditaments and premises at Rushop . . . sold to M^{r}. Mellor." 1771.

13/3/469. Abstract of the title of Thomas Carill Worsley and John Henry Barker to parts of an estate. 1830.

13/3/470. Appointment and release by Thomas Carill Worsley to the Rev. William Bagshaw of an estate. 28 April 1832. With draft.

13/3/471. "Supplemental Abstract of Mess^{rs}. Milland, Blore, Holmes and Nuttall's Title to an Estate at Rushop." 1832.

13/3/472. Correspondence relating to Rushop estate. 1830-4. 43 items.

SCARCLIFFE

13/3/473. Conveyance by Henry Thornhill of Chesterfield and Nicholas Twigg of Holme, gentlemen, to John Bright of Chesterfield, esq., of tithes of hay and corn on lands at Scarcliffe. 13 and 14 Sept. 1744.

13/3/474. Lease for 11 years by John Bright of Chesterfield, esq., to John Farnsworth of Ryley in Scarcliffe parish, farmer, of a messuage in Ryley, closes in the manor of Palterton, and closes taken in from Stockley common. 7 March 1746/7. With bond.

SLACKHALL

13/3/475. Lease for 999 years by John Lingard the younger of Slackhall in Chappell parish, yeoman, and his brother Thomas to Thomas Fryth of Bowdonhead, freemason, of land and premises, part of the ancient messuage of Slackhall. 10 May 1674.

13/3/476. Feoffment by Benjamin Lingard of Slackhall and John Lingard, yeomen, to Thomas Frith of Chappell Milltowne in Chappell parish, mason, of a house at Slackhall with land and premises belonging thereto. 28 Feb. 1688. With bond.

13/3/477. Lease for 999 years by the above John Lingard and others to Jeremiah Feilding of Foord, husbandman, of land called *Lower Rood*, part of the ancient messuage of Slackhall. 4 Aug. 1688. With bond.

13/3/478. Feoffment by Anthony Ward of Browneside in Glossopp parish, yeoman, and William Fryth of Bowdonhead, mason, to John Vernon of Peake Forrest, husbandman, of a cottage at Slack-hall and closes there. 8 March 1707/8.

13/3/479. Settlement before the marriage of Joseph Vernon of Peake Forrest, yeoman, and Dorothy Lomos of Bugsworth, spinster. 28 June 1712.

13/3/480. Conveyance by Dorothy Vernon of Whitehills in Chappel parish, widow, and Henry Booth of Charlesworth, yeoman, to Joseph Trickett of Malcalf, merchant, of a messuage called the Slack hall with closes. 25 and 26 March 1732.

13/3/481. "Abstract of Title to a Messuage and Tenement at Slack Hall . . . belonging to Sam^{l}. Bagshaw, esq^{r}." 1669-1732.

13/3/482. Assignment by Henry Eyre of Rottor, esq., by the direction of Joseph Trickett, to Thomas Mills of Leek, co. Staff., gent., of a messuage called Slack Hall, a moiety of land called the *Break edge*, and parcels of land belonging to the messuage. 12 Nov. 1743.

13/3/483. Counterpart of the above assignment. 12 Nov. 1743.

13/3/484. Assignment by Joseph James of Winster, gent., by the direction of Henry Eyre of Rowter, esq., and Joseph Trickett of Malcalf, gent., at the nomination of William Bagshaw, to Arnold Kirke of Martinside in Chappell parish, yeoman, of Slack hall with closes and a parcel of land near Malcalfe. 12 Nov. 1743.

13/3/485. Lease for 21 years by William Bagshaw of Ford, esq., to Henry Hall of Slackhall, husbandman, of a messuage and premises in Slackhall, with closes. 1 June 1750. With counterpart.

13/3/486. Feoffment by John Fielding of Ford and Charles Shirt of Bowden-head, yeomen, to Obadiah Porritt of Chinley, weaver, of a messuage with land called the *Lower-roods* at Ford, part of the Slack-hall estate. 2 Jan. 1756.

13/3/487. Conveyance by Obadiah Porritt to Samuel Bagshaw of Ford, esq., of the same. 10 and 11 March 1758.

13/3/488. "Abstract of Title to a Messuage and Lands called the *Lower Roods* at Slack Hall . . . belonging to Samuel Bagshaw, esq^{r}." 1681-1758.

STANTON

13/3/489. Receipt for deeds (1655-1704) concerning tithes of wool and lambs on the estate of John Monk Morgan at Woodhouse and Stanton. 29 Sept. 1748.

13/3/490. Transfer of a mortgage by Samuel Bagshaw, esq., and John Monk Morgan to James Wallace of the Middle Temple, London, esq., of a moiety of the manor of Stanton, and messuages called Woodhouse, Congreave House, and Stanton Hall, with certain other messuages, closes and tithes. [*Blank for day and month*], 1769. Draft.

13/3/491. Transfer by Buckley Bower of Stockport, gent., by the direction of Samuel Bagshaw and others, to [*blank*] of 3 terms of years in certain lands and premises. [*Blank for day and month*], 1769. Draft.

13/3/492. Reconveyance by Samuel Bagshaw of Ford, esq., and others, to Henry Howard of Heath Hall, co. York., of a mortgage in fee of the Woodhouse estate. 17 and 18 Dec. 1782.

STAVELEY

13/3/493. Appointment by Bridget, Viscountess Galway of the Rev. Francis Foxlow as her domestic chaplain. 8 Dec. 1810.

13/3/494. Appointment by William, Duke of Devonshire of Francis Foxlow of Staveley, clerk, to be his gamekeeper in Staveley manor. 10 Aug. 1811.

13/3/495. List of persons entitled to vote in the election of two knights of the shire for the northern division of co. Derby in respect of property in Staveley parish. n.d. [mid 19th cent.]

13/3/496. Will of Francis Foxlowe of Staveley. 25 Nov. 1841. Probate, 1 Feb. 1842.

13/3/497. Miscellaneous receipts relating to Staveley, mostly to the Foxlowe family. 1831-43. 25 items.

STONEY MIDDLETON

13/3/498. "A Schedule of the Land Tax charged upon the Lands and Tenements of Joseph Denman, M.D., and Elizabeth, his Wife, . . . in Stoney Middleton." 30 Oct. 1798.

TAPTON

13/3/499. Lease for 28 years by John Bright, jun., of Chesterfield, gent., to John Ashbury the elder of the same, innkeeper, of closes in Tapton. 17 Aug. 1728.

TIDESWELL

13/3/500. Final concord between Robert Longden, plaintiff, and Thomas Ca[*letter rubbed*]shawe and Elizabeth, his wife, deforciants, respecting a messuage and land with appurtenances in Tyddeswell. [*Date rubbed.*] Late 16th cent.

13/3/501. Miscellaneous papers in a case concerning Tideswell Grammar School. Early 18th cent. 4 items.

13/3/502. Will of John Barber of Tidswell, yeoman. 28th June 1744. Note of probate, 16 Oct. Copy.

13/3/503. Will of William Hodgkinson of Tideswell, yeoman. 6 April 1791. Copy.

13/3/504. Articles of agreement between [*blank*] Needham, esq., and John Bagshaw of Oakes, esq., respecting a right of way. 1795. Draft.

13/3/505. "Schedule of Mess^{rs}. Fox's Deeds relating to an Estate sold to John Bagshaw, esq^{r}." 1572-1798.

13/3/506. "Abstract (1747-1813) of the title of M^{r}. William Wright to an Estate at Tideswell." 1813.

TOTLEY

13/3/507. Conveyance by Samuel Clarke, sen., of Chesterfield, gent., and others, to Aymor Rich of Bullhouse, co. York, esq., of a moiety of a watermill for smelting lead called *Halls House Smelting Mill* in Dronfield parish, and a parcel of land in Bradway in Norton parish. 26 and 27 March 1730.

13/3/508. Indenture to declare the uses of a fine respecting the same. 26 Feb. 1731/2. With final concord and counterpart.

13/3/509. Conveyance by Aymer Rich to Joseph Clay of Bridgehouses in Sheffield parish, co. York, gent., respecting the same mill (called *Halls House Smelting Mill* otherwise *Bagshaws Smelting Mill*) at Totley in Dronfield parish, and "all that Cutlers Grinding Wheel and Waste Ground thereunto belonging", with 2 parcels of ground. 25 and 26 March 1759.

13/3/510. Map of land at Totley exchanged between Samuel Shore, jun., and William Bagshaw. 1779.

TROWAY

13/3/511. Extract from proceedings at the Great Court Baron of Eckington respecting a surrender by John Withers the younger and his wife Elizabeth of a messuage with appurtenances in Troway within the said manor. 7 Oct. 1658. With modern copy.

13/3/512. Articles of agreement between Roger Lee of Little Sheffeild, co. York, gent., and Thomas Hartley of Cleadleyes, husbandman, respecting a messuage in Troway. 1 Feb. 1675.

13/3/513. Mortgage by Lord John Murray of Banner Cross co. York, and his daughter the Hon. Mary Murray to John Brookes of Sheffield, co. York, merchant, of wood at Troway. 15 Oct. 1781.

13/3/514. Articles of agreement between James Wheat of Sheffield, co. York, gent., (attorney of Lord John Murray and the Hon. Mary Murray), and Joseph Walker of Nasbrough, in Rotherham parish, co. York, merchant, respecting timber in Troway Wood. 4 Dec. 1781.

WALTON

13/3/515. Lease for 21 years by James Webster of Brampton, gent., to Henry Harvey of Walton in Chesterfield parish, husbandman, of a messuage and closes in Walton. 14 Feb. 1715. With counterpart.

13/3/516. Assignment by the above Henry Harvey to John Bright the elder, of Chesterfield, merchant, of the above lease. 11 Nov. 1718.

13/3/517. Lease for 21 years by John Bright of Chesterfield, esq., to John Harvey of Walton, tailor, of a dwelling house in Walton, with 5 closes. 26 Nov. 1726. With counterpart.

13/3/518. Lease for 21 years by John Harvey, of Walton, tailor, to Henry Harvey of the same, husbandman, of a dwelling house in Walton called the *Smithy*, with land. 25 Jan. 1726/7.

WHESTON

13/3/519. Marriage licence of William Shrigley of Wheston and Mary Bower of Wormhill. 12 May 1721.

13/3/520. Letters of administration of William Shrigley, late of Wheston, widower, granted to his daughters Mary and Jane. 31 Jan. 1756.

WHITTINGTON

13/3/521. Sale by John Mycocke of Whittington, yeoman, and his son Jervase to William Cowper of Eckington, yeoman, of a cottage and land in Whyttington. 3 Oct. 1614.

WIRKSWORTH

13/3/522. Lease for 31 years to John Rowlls of Kingston upon Thames parish, co. Surrey, esq., of messuages, cottages and land within the manor and wapentake of Wirksworth, with liberty to dig limestone within the wastes of Wirksworth, to get coal in Combs Moss and to get slate and burn limestone within the wastes or commons of Shallcross and Fernlegh in Chapel parish. 1757. Draft.

13/3/523. Accounts relating to premises at Wirksworth. 18th cent. 2 items.

WORMHILL

13/3/524. Quitclaim from Joan and Cecily, daughters of John Hall, late of Huckelocke, to Nicholas Bagshawe of Wormhill and Alice his wife of all their right in all lands and tenements with appurtenances which descended to them from their father in the vill and fields of Wormhill. 19 Sept. 1448. 19th cent. copy.

13/3/525. Quitclaim from Emma, a daughter and heir of John del Hall, late of Huclowe, to Nicholas Bagshawe and Alice his wife (another daughter of the said John) of all her right in a messuage, barn and 15 acres of land in Wormhull with the custody of the King's forest of the Peak. 25 March 1451. 19th cent. copy.

13/3/526. Lease for 21 years by Sir Ingram Clyfford, kt., and Dame Anne, his wife, to John Buckstones of Wormehill, husbandman, of a moiety of a messuage and land in the town and fields of Wormehill. 18 Nov. 1548.

13/3/527. Grant by the Dean and Chapter of Litchfield to Ralph Gell of Hopton, gent., of tithes of grain and hay of Tunstead, Meadow, and Gretrackes, Feyrfield, Bubenhull, Chatesworth, Beligh, Brusfield, Byrchylls, Chelmardon, Great Longsdon, Hassop, Rowland, Wardlow, Hope, and Wormhyll, the tithe of grain of Whetstone, the tithes of grain, hay, wool and lambs of Harwood and Herthyll, and the tithe of mineral in the jurisdiction of Bakewell. 1 July 1549. 19th cent. copy.

13/3/528. Conveyance by Gervase Nevell of Chete, co. York, esq., and Anne, his wife, to Robert Mylnes and Osteyne Mylnes of Wormhill, husbandmen, of messuages in Wormhill with appurtenances. 2 July 1572.

13/3/529. Deed of exchange between John Bagshawe of Wormehill, yeoman, of the one part, and William Mylnes of Blackwall, yeoman, Robert his father, and Robert his [William's] brother, of land and premises at Wormehill and Hill. 1 Sept. 1589.

13/3/530. Conveyance by George Myllnes of Hill, yeoman, to Richard Boare of Wheston, husbandman, of a messuage with appurtenances in the town, fields, etc. of Hill and Wormehill. 17 March 1593.

13/3/531. Conveyance by George Mylnes of Hill, yeoman, and Robert Mylenes [*sic*] the younger of Wormehill, husbandman, to the above

Richard Bore, of their messuage and lands in the town, fields, etc. of Hill and Wormehill. 17 March, 1593.

13/3/532. Conveyance by Joan Hayward (widow of William Hayward of Tunstyd in Tiddeswall parish, yeoman) to Millicent Tunstyde of Belgrave, co. Leic., widow, of lands called *Oldemoore*, a close called *Tom-Close* in Tunstyde, Meadowe and Greatracks, and part of a herbage called *the Over end* of Greene Fairefielde belonging to the same. 7 Dec. 1633.

13/3/533. Conveyance by George Kirke of Gretrax, yeoman, and Dorothy his wife to John Gaskell of Hendly, co. Chester, yeoman, of a messuage with appurtenances in Neither Gretrax and parcels of land in Wormhill, Gretrax and Tunstid. 15 March 1634.

13/3/534. Feoffment by Humphrey Thornhill of Hardwickwall, yeoman, and his mother Anne to William Bagshaw of Litton, yeoman, of a messuage with appurtenances in Hardwickwall and land in Hardwickwall and Le Hill. 28 April 1651. With bond.

13/3/535. Final concord between William Bagshawe, plaintiff, and Humfry Thornehill and Anne Thornehill, widow, deforciants, respecting one messuage, one cottage, 4 barns, 2 stables and lands with appurtenances in Hargatewall Hill and Greenefearefeild. Trin. 1651. With counterpart.

13/3/536. Sale by Wingfeild Cromwell of Throwley, co. Staff., esq. (son and heir of the Rt. Hon. Thomas, Lord Cromwell, Baron of Okham), to William Bagshawe of Litton in Tydswell parish, yeoman, of a messuage with appurtenances in Wormhill and beast gates in Peake Forrest. 1 May 1652. With bond.

13/3/537. Sale by Humphrey Thornhill of Harget Wall in Tiddeswall to William Bagshawe of Lytton, yeoman, of a messuage with appurtenances in the towns, territories, etc., of Hill and Hargatewall with adjoining closes and other lands. 14 May 1652. With bond.

13/3/538. Quitclaim by Robert Needham and his son Hugh of Hanson Grange, yeomen, to William Bagshawe, vicar of Glossopp, of all their right in the beast gates or beast grasses in Greene Fairefield and herbage in *the Over end*. 2 Nov. 1653. With bond.

13/3/539. Final concord between William Bagshawe, plaintiff, and Wingfeild Cromwell and Mary, his wife, deforciants, respecting a messuage and land with appurtenances in Wormehall, Hargatewall, Greenefairefeild and Peake Forrest. 15 days from Easter, 1654. With counterpart.

13/3/540. Feoffment by William Bagshawe of Lytton, yeoman, to his son William Bagshaw, vicar of Glossoppe, of a messuage in Wormhill (late in the tenure of Hugh Needham), and beast gates belonging to the same in the Peake Forrest and Greene Fairefield. 20 April 1654.

13/3/541. Assignment by Thomas Herrod of Neather Greettrax, yeoman, to William Bagshawe of Litton, yeoman, of his portion of the *neather end* of Greenefairefield and of the pasturage of the *over end* of the same with appurtenances. 7 July 1654. With bond.

13/3/542. Sale by Thomas Readfearne of Wormehill, yeoman, and his son Nicholas to William Bagshawe of Greatehucklowe, yeoman, of a barn or housing in Hill or Wormhill Field and 2 parcels of land. 1 June 1661. With bond.

13/3/543. Bond of the above Thomas and Nicholas Readfearne to the above William Bagshawe for the performance of covenants in an indenture of 3 June 1661. 3 June 1661.

13/3/544. Feoffment by Millicent Thistlethwait of Bellgrave, co. Leic., widow, to Henry, her son, of land on the *old moore* within the territories, etc. of Tunstyde, Meadow, and Greatracks, a close called *Tom close* in the same territories, and part of a herbage called the *over end* of Green Fairfield. 11 Oct. 1661.

13/3/545. Conveyance by Nicholas Redfearne of Wormehill, yeoman, to William Bagshawe of Greate Hucklowe, gent., of part of a barn and land in Wormehill. 29 Feb. 1668.

13/3/546. Release by the above Nicholas to the above William of the same. 6 March 1668. With bond.

13/3/547. Conveyance by William Savile of Bakewell, gent., to Mary Heathcoate, spinster, of a close called the *Old Moore* in the territories of Tunstyde, Meadowe and Gratracks, a close called *Tom Close*, and part of a herbage called the *Over End* of Greene Fayrefeild. 2 and 3 June 1670.

13/3/548. Document respecting a forgery of title to land at Wormhill by the curate of Wormhill. 1672.

13/3/549. Conveyance by Adam Bagshaw of Wormhill, gent., to John Heathcott of Bakewell, yeoman, of a close called *Alescoats* with adjoining land in the territories, etc. of Meadowe and Tunsteed in the township of Wormhill, and part of a herbage called the *Over end* of Greenfairefeild. 22 and 23 March 1675.

13/3/550. Articles of agreement between Robert Wilson of Tunstead, yeoman, Robert Bagshawe of Wormehill, yeoman, and others, of the one part, and Adam Bagshawe of Wormehill, gent., and others, of the other part, respecting a case concerning tithes of hay growing in the territories, etc. of Wormehill, Tunstead, Greatrex and Meddow. 27 April 1677.

13/3/551. Memorandum of a release of 1 Nov. 1679 by George Bagshaw of Hill to George Bower of Tidswell respecting land at Hill and other parcels. n.d. [18th cent.]

13/3/552. Will of Richard Bore of Hill in Tidswall parish, yeoman. 2 Dec. 1682. Probate, 29 Oct. 1685.

13/3/553. Release by Thomas Fletcher of Hill, yeoman, to Arthur Heathcott of Ferney Botham and Thomas Ryley of Wiganstall, co. Staff., yeomen, of a messuage and land at Hill. 25 Jan. 1684. With counterpart.

13/3/554. Sale by Adam Bagshaw of Wormehill, gent., to Michael Heyward of Tunstead, yeoman, of a parcel of land in Greene fairfeild near Stumpcrosse called *Longlands*. 22 April 1686.

13/3/555. "An Account of y^e^ *over end* rent." 20 Oct. 1686.

13/3/556. Conveyance by Mary Heathcoate of Meadowe, spinster, to John Heathcoate of the same, yeoman, of a close called *Old Moore* in the territories of Meadowe, Tunstead or Gretrix, and part of a herbage called the *Over End* of Green Fairfield. 1 and 2 Feb. 1694/5.

13/3/557. Release by Rowland Heathcott of Meadowe, yeoman, and John, his son and heir, to Elizabeth Sleigh of Broademeadowe in Sheene parish, co. Staff., widow, of a close called the *Ould Moore*, and part of the

herbage called the *Over End* of Greene Fairfield and land within the Liberties of Meadowe and Tunstidd called *Alescoates*, and part of the herbage belonging to the same. 7 March 1696.

13/3/558. Sale by Rowland Heathcott of Sheffeild Parke Yate, co. York, yeoman, and his son John, to Edward Heathcott of Bubnell in Bakewell parish, yeoman, of the *Alescoats*, with adjoining land, the *Old Moore*, and part of the *Over End*. 24 Jan. 1698/9.

13/3/559. "Acc^{t} of y^{e} Kings Moiety of Land in y^{e} Hund^{d}. of High Peak, granted to M^{r}. Eyre." n.d. [late 17th cent.]

13/3/560. Lease for 21 years by Adam Bagshaw the elder of Wormhill, gent., to Robert Bagshaw of Manchester, co. Lanc., and John Hyde of the Overend in Hope parish, husbandman, of a piece of newly enclosed ground near the *meere* or the *Golden Wall Spring* in the *Over End alias Upper End* of Greenfairfield and land on the south side of the same belonging to Wormhill Chapel. 1 May 1700. Counterpart.

13/3/561. Sale by Sir Phillip Gell of Hopton, bart., to Jasper Fryth of Tidswall, tallow chandler, of a messuage with land and appurtenances at Meadow in Wormhill chapelry, the tithe corn of Meadow, Tunstead and Great Racks, closes in Greenfaire Field and his share of land which is part of the *Over End*. 12 Aug. 1718. Copy.

13/3/562. Award in a dispute respecting a way from lands of Edward Heathcott and Joseph Goodwin called the *Old Moor*. 28 April 1721.

13/3/563. Indenture of covenants between William Shrigley of Whetstone, yeoman, and Mary, his wife, of the one part, and Samuel Eccles of Tidswell, gent., of the other part, to levy a fine respecting a messuage at Hill in Tidswell parish with closes. 6 Feb. 1724/5. With final concord and counterpart.

13/3/564. Indenture between Michael Hague of Wormhill, yeoman, and William Bagshaw of Ford, gent., whereby the former grants to the latter land at *Hargate Wall lane end* in exchange for land at *Hargate wall Town head* and other parcels of land. 12 Jan. 1731/2.

13/3/565. "Abstract of a Messuage and Lands at Harwicke Wall, Hill and Wormhill, Green Fairfield and Peak Forest . . . belonging to Samuel Bagshaw, esq^{r}." 1574-1732. 3 copies.

13/3/566. Feoffment by Thomas Fletcher of Hill, yeoman, to Brightwell Smith of Clements Inn, co. Middx., gent., of a messuage at Hill with closes belonging thereto and a close in the *Over End* of Green Fairfeild. 3 and 4 May 1737.

13/3/567. Mortgage by the above Thomas Fletcher to John Morten of Eyam, yeoman, of a messuage at Hill with closes. 9 and 10 June 1737.

13/3/568. Exemplification of a recovery by Sanders Edwards, gent., against Brightwell Smith, gent., respecting a messuage and lands in Tiddeswall and Hope parishes. 29 June 1737. With seal.

(*To be continued*).

GREEK COMIC COSTUME: ITS HISTORY AND DIFFUSION

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IN an article published five years ago in this BULLETIN [1] I discussed the masks of Aristophanic comedy using the archaeological evidence of vases and terracottas to illustrate the texts. The illustrative material was not only Athenian but came also from other parts of Greece and from South Italy, and I pointed out in another article [2] that the so-called phylax vases from South Italy provide illustrations of scenes which are either identical with or at least contemporary with Middle Comedy and later I extended the investigation to the masks and actors on Gnathia vases, which run from about the middle of the fourth century into the period of New Comedy.[3] Still more recently, partly because of the reluctance shown in certain recent publications [4] to accept the long established view that the actors of Aristophanes wore the padded obscene costume, partly because of the publication of new evidence, I have argued that starting from the two certain Attic comic monuments, the Lyme Park relief and the Aixone relief, it can be demonstrated that Aristophanes' plays were acted in the padded obscene costume, which is illustrated by vases and terracottas made in other parts of Greece and South Italy as well as in Attica.[5] In the present article I want to try to explain this diffusion of Greek comic costume. The simple explanation

[1] BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, xxxii (1949), 111 ff.

[2] *CQ*, xlii (1948), 19 ff.

[3] *JHS*, lxxi (1951), 229 ff. Gnathia is a general term for South Italian vases with decoration in white or other colours on black glaze. The best were made in Tarentum and painted by Apulian painters.

[4] Particularly Sir Arthur Pickard-Cambridge, *Dramatic Festivals of Athens*, pp. 236 ff.; W. Beare, *Proceedings of the Classical Association*, xlix (1952), p. 23.

[5] *Ephemeris Archaiologike* (forthcoming). The Lyme Park relief (datable about 380) and the Aixone relief (dated 340) are conveniently illustrated in my *Studies in Later Greek Comedy*, Pls. I and III, and Pickard-Cambridge, op. cit. Figs. 89 and 18.

that the diffusion is due to the diffusion of Attic comedy is, I believe, to a considerable extent valid but its validity is limited by the fact that comic costume is found over much of the Greek world a hundred to two hundred years before comedy was produced at the festival of Dionysos in Athens.

I start with the first half of the fourth century, to which many of the monuments belong and when Middle Comedy was flourishing in Athens. Athenian terracotta statuettes of comic actors are known in quantity. I resume here costumes and types very briefly, quoting those figured in Pickard-Cambridge's *Dramatic Festivals of Athens* where possible. Men wear either nothing (only on vases, Fig. 80), nothing with a cloak hanging from the arm, short chiton (Fig. 103), short chiton with *pilos*, short chiton and small himation (Fig. 104), short chiton, small himation, and *pilos* (Fig. 123), short chiton and long himation (Fig. 105), long chiton and long himation (men dressed up as women). Women wear long chiton and long himation or long chiton only. Costume alone does not distinguish between gods, heroes, citizens, and slaves. Among the recurring actions we may mention men seated on altars (Fig. 104); men standing scratching their chins or with their hands to their ears (Fig. 83), seated in a similar posture (Fig. 132), or with their chins pillowed on their hands or with their hands round their knees (Fig. 88) or shaking out a purse. Many of these are slaves. Men with water pots on their heads (cf. Ar. *Ekkl.* 738) are probably preparing for Middle Comedy feasting, as also men with baskets (Fig. 86), cauldrons, and sacks. Men with animals (Fig. 139) are presumably countrymen bringing their wares to town like the Megarian in the *Acharnians*. After the preparations the feast follows and we have comasts, dancers, drummers, and a man with a lyre. A man goes home unsteadily, supported by a slave (Fig. 109), a man makes a rough house (Fig. 103), a man espies a woman, a man converses with an old procuress (Fig. 108); several of the terracottas seem from their hair style to belong to the general class of hetairai (Figs. 140, 142-4), and the procuress appears in Middle Comedy in Euboulos' *Stephanopolides*.

One of the two groups of terracottas from a single Athenian

grave, now in New York, seems to me likely to be a set, i.e. inspired by a particular play; they show preparations for the feast (Figs. 86-7), an old countryman weeping because he has to pay or has been robbed, Herakles (Fig. 84), a woman veiling or unveiling invitingly (Fig. 140), a slave thinking out a plan (Fig. 88) and a nurse with a baby (Figs. 85, 141). Euboulos' *Auge* would be a possible source of inspiration, and Herakles and the woman recur on a Campanian vase of the third quarter of the fourth century, which has been supposed to represent the Auge story. The baby, if this is the Auge story, is Telephos. A traveller rushing to an altar with a baby may be Telephos with the infant Orestes. Other men standing with babies (Fig. 122) or seated with babies may be dealing with heroic children or children of everyday life: the unwanted child had already appeared in Middle Comedy.

One other general class completes our survey of the terracottas. They can be grouped together as travellers, porters, and soldiers. Soldiers are seen with basket and shield, and with shield alone. Porters may carry a roll of bedding as on an Attic oenochoe (Fig. 80), a roll, flask, and basket, a flask and basket (Fig. 123), or a roll and basket (Fig. 111); some of these are slaves in attendance, some free men carrying their own belongings. A traveller on a mule is known from several terracottas and has been compared with Xanthias in the *Frogs*, but he has no bundles and he may rather be Hephaistos; there is no reason why the return of Hephaistos should not be the subject of an Attic comedy.

We must not be too precise about dates. We have reliable bottom dates at the Kabeirion in Thebes 355, Olynthos 348, in the Koroplasts' dump in the Agora 330;[1] terracottas found at the Pnyx seem to date between 350 and 325,[2] and terracottas found at Halai between 370 and 350;[3] terracottas were found in Southern Russia and at Delphi with vases datable between 400 and 350. It seems to me clear that these statuettes belong to Middle Comedy; New Comedy has many differences in costume, but there is no such break between Middle and Old

[1] D. B. Thomson, *Hesperia*, xxi (1952), 122.
[2] *Ibid.*, 143 ff.
[3] H. Goldman, *Hesperia*, xi (1942), 398.

Comedy. Without trying to be more accurate we can regard the terracottas as a chronological link between the Lyme Park relief of a comic poet (about 380) and the Attic vases (420-380) on the one hand and the Aixone relief (340) on the other.

The number of these terracottas is considerable: I know 154 from illustrations excluding replicas. Of these at least thirty-eight (again excluding replicas) were actually found in Athens itself so that there is no doubt about their Athenian origin: of these the two groups of seven found in a single grave and now in New York [1] and the collection, which includes replicas, in the Koroplasts' dump in the Agora [2] are particularly significant. They travelled all over the Greek world: if we exclude Tanagra and Myrina (which were names given by dealers to secure customers), we can safely accept South Russia, the Troad, Larisa, Priene, Salonica, Olynthos, Rhodes, Melos, Cyprus, Cyrene, Delphi, Arcadia, Boeotia, and South Italy.[3] To take one extremely popular example, replicas of the woman unveiling herself in the first New York set have been found not only at Athens but also at Olynthos, in the Cyrenaica, in South Russia, and in the Troad; in all eleven copies are known.[4]

[1] New York 13.225.14-27. Bieber, *HT*, Figs. 122-38; Pickard-Cambridge, op. cit. Figs. 84-8; BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, xxxii. 117, Fig. 4; *Studies in Later Greek Comedy*, 76, 85.

[2] *Hesperia*, xxi (1952), Pl. 38, nos. 43-7.

[3] Instances of the woman veiling or unveiling in the first New York set (Bieber, *HT*, Fig. 123) were found in Taman (Körte, *Jb*, viii (1893), 85, no. 95), the Troad (Berlin, Museum für Völkerkunde), Olynthos (*Olynthos*, iv. 364), Cyrenaica (Körte, no. 97). Instances of the Herakles from Melos in the British Museum (C 80, BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, xxxii, 117, Fig. 7; Pickard-Cambridge, op. cit. Fig. 82) were found in the Pnyx at Athens (*Hesperia*, Suppl. 7, p. 147, no. 64) in the Crimea (Körte, no. 22), in Larisa on the Hermos (*Larisa*, III, no. 112), in Delphi (*Fouilles de Delphes*, V, no. 294), in the Kabeirion at Thebes (Boston 01.8014, Bieber, *HT*, Fig. 110), in Tarentum (Trieste, Museo Civico 650; Bieber, *D*, 190). The following terracottas from very different sites are also Attic: from Priene, Istanbul 1505, Wiegand, *Priene*, Fig. 444. From Salonica, Istanbul, Winter, *Terrakottatypen*, 418/2, cf. *Hesperia*, xxi (1952), Pl. 38, no. 44. From Rhodes, Blinkenberg, *Lindos*, I, 2939, replica of seated slave in first New York set, Bieber, *HT*, Fig. 128; Pickard-Cambridge, op. cit. Fig. 88. From Cyprus, Louvre, Bieber, *HT*, Fig. 114. From Arcadia, *Ö. Jh.* iv, 43, Fig. 49, cf. *Hesperia*, xxi (1952), Pl. 38, no. 43 from the Agora.

[4] Cf. preceding note. In addition to the five examples listed there other examples are known: (6) Heidelberg TK 45, from Tanagra (?), Bieber, *D*,

The circle is, however, even wider (as Mr. R. Higgins pointed out to me) because we also know local copies of Attic terracottas from Larisa, Olynthos, in Corinth, in Sikyon, in Cyrene, in Boeotia, in Sicily and in South Italy.[1] Further, we know local original terracottas of the same general type but with no demonstrable Athenian prototype from Corinth, Megara, Sicily and South Italy.[2]

We have then to ask whether this diffusion is in any way related to the diffusion of Attic comedy. I have no positive or negative evidence about Larisa on the Hermos or Cyrene or Olynthos.[3] In Boeotia the same costume appears in the late fifth century on the Kabeiran vases. In the Peloponnese there was some kind of comedy at Megara probably before the beginning of the fifth century, and in Corinth the comic costume, besides being found on fourth century vases, can be traced back to the seventh century. In South Italy the same costume appears on Apulian, Campanian, and Paestan vases (some of which were exported to Sicily) mostly of the first half of the fourth century and very few later than 330. These vases are

no. 95; Neutsch, *Welt der Griechen*, p. 61, no. 10. (7) London, British Museum, 1907.5.18.7. Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, Fig. 140. (8), (9), (10) In Athens, one from Peiraeus, one from Tanagra (?), Körte, op. cit. nos. 93, 94, 96. (11) From Vari (Attica), *AJA* (1903), p. 333, no. 61. Some of these are larger and some smaller: on the reduced size of later stages of copying, see R. V. Nicholls, *BSA*, xlvii (1952), 217.

[1] E.g. Larisa, *Larisa*, III, no. 114. Olynthos, *Olynthus*, VII, 297. Corinth, mould, *Corinth*, XV, i, 102 (cf. cast, *Corinth*, XV, ii, group xix, 11). Sikyon, terracotta plaque, *Praktika*, 1941-4, 63, Fig. 3 (cf. British Museum, C 239, Bieber, *HT*, Fig. 90). Cyrenaica, British Museum, C 828 (cf. *Hesperia*, xxi (1952), Pl. 38, no. 44 from the Agora). Boeotia, Winter 414/8 (cf. Bieber, *HT*, Fig. 127, first New York set). Sicily, British Museum, C 44 (cf. C 239, noted above). South Italy (Reggio and Tarentum, as well as Syracuse), Bieber, *D*, no. 98. The numbers of these local copies in Olynthos are very considerable; the new volume, *Olynthus* XIV, adds 7 which are replicas or variants of known Athenian terracottas.

[2] E.g. Corinth, British Museum, C 9, Winter 416/5, cf. *Corinth*, XV, ii, group xix, 18 (the flared chiton seems peculiar to Corinth). Megara, Berlin 7088, Winter 420/5. Sicily, Syracuse 1522, Bieber, *D*, no. 100. South Italy, British Museum, D 323, Winter 422/8 (Tarentum).

[3] Demosthenes, xix, 192 is not evidence for production in Olynthos (Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, 287). The Olympia was held in Macedonia. But Olynthos probably had a theatre (Robinson, *Olynthus*, II, 6).

not imitations of Attic vases: South Italian vase painting is largely independent of Attic by the end of the fifth century, and many of them reproduce actual stage scenes whereas the only example of an actual stage on an Attic vase is on the Vlastos oenochoe.[1] They are therefore illustrations of performances in South Italy.

Let us take South Italy and Sicily first. We have found so far (1) that Attic terracottas, local copies of Attic terracottas, and local comic terracottas for which we know no Attic prototype are found there, (2) that the stage which appears on the Vlastos oenochoe has parallels in simple and elaborate forms on Apulian, Campanian, and Paestan vases, (3) that costumes, masks, and attitudes of the Attic terracottas constantly remind us of South Italian vases.[2] To these facts we can add the following: (*a*) for the majority of the mythological historical scenes on the vases we can suggest an Attic comedy which could chronologically have been the inspiration of the vase-paintings, and where they give comic representations of every-day scenes, they are scenes which we can parallel in Attic comedy,[3] (*b*) the one inscription [4] which gives a line of a play shows no trace of Doric but appears to be an iambic tetrameter catalectic of a kind well known in Attic comedy, (*c*) the other inscriptions on these vases known to me are names: (i) Apulian: Philotimides, Charis, Xanthias; [5] Daidalos, Hera, Eneualios; [6]

[1] Athens, National Museum. *JHS*, lxv (1945), Pl. 5 etc., cf. my article in *Ephemeris* (forthcoming).

[2] A glance through Bieber, *HT*, Figs. 86-135 (terracottas) and 354-402 (vases) will confirm this. Many parallels are given in my articles quoted in notes 1-3 and 5. Add to these the young man in longish chiton, terracotta from Olynthos (xiv, 388) with the Apulian vase, Naples 118333, Bieber, *HT*, Fig. 385. A complete collection of the vases is to be published by Professor A. D. Trendall, to whom I am indebted for much help.

[3] Examples are given in *CQ*, xlii (1948), pp. 19 ff. Add to literary references for the old man defending his money-chest (p. 26, n. 11) Kock, *CAF*, iii, 464, no. 308, 'misers being dragged on to the stage'.

[4] New York, 24.97.104. Bieber, *HT*, Fig. 381; Trendall, *Frühitaliotische Vasen*, Pl. 28*b*. The scene has been interpreted by Sir John Beazley in *AJA*, lvi (1952), 193. I have discussed the inscription in *Schweitzerfestschrift* (forthcoming).

[5] Bari (private collection). Bieber, *HT*, Fig. 374. Reverse, Bieber, *HT*, Fig. 23; Brommer, *Satyrspiele*, no. 91.

[6] British Museum, F. 269. Bieber, *HT*, Fig. 370.

Chiron, . . nthias, Nymphai,[1] (ii) Paestan : Charinos, Gymnilos, Kosilos, Karion ; [2] Sikon ; [3] Kassandra, Hiereia,[4] (iii) Campanian : Santia.[5] Of the non-mythological names Charinos, Xanthias, Karion, Sikon are known to us from Attic comedy and none of the other names is impossible for Attic comedy. (*d*) Apulian, Campanian, and Paestan vases have also scenes which are inspired by local performances of Attic tragedy. Two vases [6] link comic scenes with other performances : the back of one has a scene from a satyr play, and on another the comic scene is watched by TRAGOIDOS, a tragic actor.

The simplest explanation of this seems to me to be that Attic comedy was performed in South Italy during the fourth century and is reflected on these vases. There are, however, two questions : what are we to make of the literary allusions to the *phlyakes* and what are we to make of the vases where " comic actors " appear in other contexts than stage scenes? *Phlyakes* is a word used in various connections by our sources : (1) Suidas [7] uses it of Sotades of Maroneia (dated early third century), who wrote in Ionian dialect and in prose and is included by Athenaeus in a whole list of *hilarodoi*, *simodoi*, *magodoi*, *lysodoi*, etc., most of whom came from the East of the Greek world, but Theodoros came from Syracuse. They are all too late to have anything to do with our vases and there is no reason to suppose that they were not maskless soloists, (2) Athenaeus talks of Sopatros of Paphos [8] as a writer of *phlyakes* ; he seems to have lived in Alexandria in the early third century ; his fragments are very like Middle Comedy but he is too late to be connected with our vases. (3) Rhinthon [9] of Tarentum is mentioned with various others as a writer of *phlyakes*, which

[1] British Museum, F. 151. Bieber, *HT*, Fig. 362.

[2] Berlin, F. 3044. Bieber, *HT*, Fig. 373. Now Trendall, ' Paestan Pottery : Supplement ' (= *PPS*), *BSR* (1952), no. 37.

[3] San Simeon (once Ruesch). Trendall, *Paestan Pottery*, Fig. 10 ; *PPS*, no. 16.

[4] Villa Giulia 50279. Bieber, *HT*, Figs. 366-7. Trendall, *PPS*, no. 38.

[5] British Museum, F. 233. Bieber, *HT*, Fig. 402.

[6] The vases quoted above in p. 568 n. 5 and 4 respectively.

[7] Suidas s.v. *Sotades* ; Athenaeus 620e ; Strabo, xiv, 648 ; *RE*, s.v. Sotades. Texts in Powell, *Collectanea Alexandranea*.

[8] Kaibel, *CGF*, 192. *RE*, s.v. Sopatros.

[9] Kaibel, *CGF*, 183.

are also called *hilarotragoidia* (this name may account for the *hilarodoi*, etc., being called writers of *phlyakes*). He lived in the time of the first Ptolemy, i.e. too late for our vases, and his fragments (and those of his fellows) are largely parodies of Euripides in broad Doric. This seems to be a sort of continuation of Middle Comedy in Doric. (4) Athenaeus (621d) gives a collection of names which he equates with the Spartan *deikeliktai* among which he includes the Italian *phlyakes*; to this list I shall return later. Whatever this jumble of information means, it is certain that our vases have nothing to do with the literary South Italian *phlyakes* of Rhinthon and his associates in the third century.

Nevertheless we have the fact that Athenaeus equates the *phlyakes* with the *deikeliktai*. The common characteristics of these performances, which took place in many different towns, seem to have been that authors were usually unknown, that they often included personal abuse, and that they included certain very ancient incidents and characters.

We shall have occasion to return to the list later. For our present purpose it suggests that some performance by *phlyakes* in South Italy went back far earlier than the various third century authors recorded as writers of *phlyakes*. The fat men on the vases, as we have said, can be traced back to the beginning of the fourth century. It should be noted that they do not only occur in stage scenes. On an Apulian askos [1] a fat man and an ugly naked woman (her mask appears on other vases in comic scenes) appear in the thiasos with three satyrs and three maenads; on Paestan vases [2] "comic actors" often appear with Dionysos in the company of maenads or without, as themselves or characterised as Hermes or Eros; once [3] a fat man is beside a turntable with a tumbler as if to show that the tumbler's performance also belongs to Dionysos.

[1] Ruvo, Jatta 1402. Bieber, *HT*, Fig. 400; Catterucia, *Pitture Vascolari*, Pl. IV, 13. The female mask I take to be the wolfish old woman, cf. BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, xxxii (1949), 121, no. 28, ii.

[2] E.g. Naples. 1778. Trendall, *PP*, Pl. 35a; *PPS*, no. 408. Madrid 11060. Trendall, *PP*, Pl. 9a; *PPS*, no. 163. Oxford 1928.12. Trendall, *PP*, Pl. 9b; *PPS*, no. 73. Lost. Tischbein, i, 44; Trendall, *PPS*, no. 192.

[3] Oxford 1945-43. Trendall, *PPS*, no. 116, Pl. 5c.

We have then to choose between two alternatives: *either* the fat men came to South Italy with Attic comedy and were accepted so readily that they became servants of Dionysos just like the satyrs, *or* they were already there and were in costume so like the actors of Attic comedy that they could easily become actors of Attic comedy when Attic comedy became popular in South Italy. We have not, I think, enough evidence to decide. The latter alternative seems to me rather more likely since it will be remembered that we find in South Italy not only Attic terracottas of comic actors and local imitations of them but also local terracottas for which no Attic prototype can be adduced.[1] If this is so we may ask one final question: had similar *phlyakes* previously performed the comedies of Epicharmos?

I have no intention of discussing the very difficult problems connected with Epicharmos.[2] I want only to ask two questions. (1) Is it conceivable that the fat men appeared in Epicharmos? (2) Do the fragments of Epicharmos yield any evidence of a later Sicilian comedy contemporary with our vases? In subject-matter—lists of food, parasite, occasional obscene references, parody of mythology—the fragments of Epicharmos are not unlike Middle Comedy, which we have shown to have been acted by the fat men. In form we can imagine that Epicharmos was very different. We are told for instance that two plays were written completely in anapaestic tetrameters.[3] His comedy certainly admitted dancing and singing,[4] and seems to have had a chorus: *Komastai or Hephaistos* is a well-attested title and the komasts must have been the satyrs who brought Hephaistos back, and they must have been a chorus; therefore we are justified in assuming at least that the *Choreuontes* and *Bakchai* and probably that the *Dionysoi* (Dionysos and satyrs?) [5] also had a chorus. There is therefore no reason why the predecessors of the fat men whom we know from South Italian

[1] Cf. above, p. 566-7 for examples of all three types.

[2] See Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy*, pp. 352 ff.

[3] Hephaestion 49, 2.

[4] Fr. 127 Kaibel, probably also fr. 123; *not* frs. 75 and 210, which Pickard-Cambridge appears to accept, op. cit. 405.

[5] On such titles, cf. BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, xxxii (1949), 117.

vases of the fourth century should not have acted Epicharmos in the early fifth century.

The answer to the second question seems to me to depend on the interpretation of a single fragment.[1] We have good evidence both that genuine Epicharmos contained allusions to contemporary philosophy[2] and that pseudo-Epicharmos was being written early in the fourth century.[3] The fragment in which a wise man discusses the relation of flute-playing to flautists with a man who answers *πανὺ μὲν οὖν* cannot have been written before the fourth century; the ideas, the phraseology, and the interjections are Platonic.[4] This fragment is certainly not by Epicharmos, but we cannot exclude the possibility that it comes from a Dorian comedy of the fourth century. Diels' suggestion[5] that it was interpolated into Epicharmos by Dionysios the Younger for a stage production to amuse Plato rests only on Suidas' record that the younger Dionysios wrote *On the Poems of Epicharmos*. This is therefore a pure guess and there is no reason to suppose that the fragment is Sicilian or West Greek; it could equally well be Megarian. It seems therefore, that we have no evidence of a living Sicilian comedy in the fourth century.

It is possible then that the fat men on our vases are *phlyakes* and go a long way back, that in the early fifth century in Sicily they acted, danced, and sang the comedies of Epicharmos, that in the fourth century their successors acted Middle Comedy and in the third century Rhinthon. The connecting threads we cannot see because, as far as we know, what they performed was only literary at three moments: Epicharmos and his contemporaries, Middle Comedy, and Rhinthon. Both on the fourth century vases and in Epicharmos they seem to be sometimes equated with satyrs. So the West Greek evidence suggests that something very like Attic comic costume was known in

[1] 171 Kaibel, 3 Diels-Kranz.

[2] E.g. 170, 173, 249 Kaibel = 1, 5, 12 Diels-Kranz.

[3] Athenaeus 648d.

[4] Fr. 171 Kaibel = 3 Diels-Kranz, cf. Denniston, *Greek Particles*, p. 477.

[5] *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*[6], p. 193. An embroidery of Wilamowitz' unjustifiable statement in *Platon*[2], II, 28, that the comedy 'was written under Dionysios II'.

the early fifth century in Syracuse and that those who wore it could be equated with satyrs.

Let us look again at Athenaeus' list.[1] He starts with the Spartan *deikeliktai*, then gives local names for similar performers —*phallophoroi* in Sikyon, *autokabdaloi* elsewhere, *phlyakes* in Italy, *ethelontai* in Thebes. Then he leaves his early third century source Sosibios for a second-century source Semos of Delos, who tells us that the *autokabdaloi* were wreathed with ivy and were later called *iamboi*. The ivy suggests a connection with Dionysos. Athenaeus elsewhere (181c) speaks of *iambistai* at Syracuse. But we cannot get anything more from this except that the *autokabdaloi* evidently abused people.[2]

Semos goes on to speak of the *ithyphalloi*. 'They wear the masks of drunkards and are wreathed; they have embroidered sleeves, chitons with a white stripe, and a Tarantine robe falling to their feet.' They conduct the phallos pole representing Dionysos into the middle of the orchestra. They seem therefore to be men dressed as women, but it is also true that Dionysos himself wore such a costume and they may wear it as his servants. Semos does not tell where they performed, but we know them perhaps from an Athenian vase[3] of the early fifth century and certainly from a fragment of Hyperides (50), where they also dance in the orchestra. *Ithyphalloi* also sang the hymn in honour of Demetrios Poliorketes[4] and in the early third century appeared with jugglers at the feast of the Macedonian Karanos.[5] Their songs (in so far as they had a personal reference) may have something to do with the

[1] 621d. See Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, etc.*, pp. 228 ff.; Herter, *Vom dionysischen Tanz zum komischem Spiel*, pp. 19 ff. (with references to his earlier *de dis atticis Priapi similibus*).

[2] ῥήσεις implies speech rather than song. σχέδην I take to mean 'close at hand'.

[3] Athens, Acropolis Museum, 702. Beazley, *ARV*, 143/195. Elderly, ugly man in a long chiton with ivy leaf pattern and boots. He holds a phallos-stick. He wears an ivy-wreath: a phallos springs from his forehead and another from his nose.

[4] Athenaeus 253c. We cannot say that the chorus in the *pompe* of the Dionysia in the archonship of Demetrius of Phaleron was also composed of *ithyphalloi* (542e).

[5] Athenaeus 129.

origin of comedy but their costume has nothing to do with male comic costume;[1] the nearest approach would be when men dressed up as women but Mnesilochos[2] at least shaved for this operation, whereas they wore the masks of drunkards. It is possible that the existence of such choruses had some influence on the female choruses of comedy (to this subject I shall return). Satyrs dressed as women may be a translation of the *ithyphalloi* into mythical terms; they appear on Attic vases[3] of the fifth century, and one Corinthian plastic vase[4] of the early sixth represents a satyr with ear rings. Demosthenes' young friends[5] were amateurs but shared with their official namesakes their references to particular people.

Semos goes on to describe the *phallophoroi* of Sikyon, who wear no mask but an elaborate wreath and a thick woollen garment.[6] They marched into the theatre singing a new song to Dionysos; they quizzed spectators; they then sang in the orchestra.[7] The *phallophoros*, who was presumably their leader, had his face covered with soot. Again the costume has nothing to do with comedy, but the songs may, like those of the *ithyphalloi*, have been included by Aristotle in "phallic

[1] So Pohlenz, *GGN*, 1949, 31, against Herter, *Vom dionysischen Tanz zum komischen Spiel*, 15. Buschor (*AM*, liii (1928), 99) interprets *tarantinon* as tights and thinks they wore comic costume, but *tarantinon* is habitually used of women's clothing.

[2] Ar. *Thesm.* 213. The terracotta, Louvre 298, Bieber, *HT*, Fig. 117, I take to be not an *ithyphallos* but a "Mnesilochos"; the artist gives him an ordinary male mask to make it clear that he is a man dressed as a woman. An Attic cup (Amsterdam, inv. 3356) of about 550 B.C. by the Heidelberg painter (*CVA*, *Hague*, III, He, Pl. 2, Figs. 4-5) has nine bearded dancers who wear pointed Thracian or Eastern caps and chiton down to the ankles. Three wear similar caps without points, which may be ornamented with *phalloi*.

[3] E.g. Athens, NM. 1220, Brommer, *Satyrspiele*, Fig. 67, cf. Dionysos dancing in a woman's short chiton; Beazley, *Attic Vases in Cyprus Museum*, p. 40; Vienna, Kunst-historisches Museum, inv. 570, *CVA*, Pl 40/2, Beazley, *ARV*, 447.73 has a bearded man similarly performing.

[4] Athens, *NM.* 12476, *JHS*, lv (1935), 124 (R. J. H. Jenkins).

[5] Demosthenes, liv, 14.

[6] An Eastern garment, cf. Ar. *Wasps*, 1135. Herter, op. cit. n. 83, quotes Pausanias according to whom *paideros*, with which they are wreathed, grows only in the precinct of Aphrodite at Sikyon.

[7] This seems to me the easiest interpretation of στάδην: they sang and danced a *stasimon*, cf. on *stasimon*, A. M. Dale, *Eranos*, xlviii (1950), 14.

songs, which are still the custom in many of the cities". Herakleitos attests such songs in sixth-century Ephesos.[1]

We are left, therefore, with the Boeotian *ethelontai* and the Spartan *deikeliktai*. The Boeotian evidence is difficult to interpret. I am not clear that Aristotle,[2] when he says "the chorus was given late by the archon but they were volunteers (*ethelontai*)", is not glancing at the Boeotian name for comic performers. We have also to consider two groups of vases. The first[3] belongs to the early part of the sixth century and shows dancers who are extremely like those on Attic comast vases, to which I shall return later; but on the earlier ones[4] some figures are grossly phallic and behave in a way unparalleled on the Attic vases. The second belongs to the second half of the fifth century. They are the so-called Kabeiran vases.[5] The scenes are often mythological; the male figures are both fat and phallic. Both male and female figures appear to be strongly influenced by comedy. Finally, we have noticed that Attic comic terracottas are found in the fourth century in Boeotia and were imitated by Boeotian koroplasts. It seems to me possible that the Boeotian *ethelontai* were originally padded dancers, that the phallic ones became actors, but that all the time there was a strong cross influence from Attica both on the vases and terracottas and on the performances which they illustrated.

The *deikeliktai* are called by Sosibios "an ancient form of comic entertainment in Sparta" and he gives as instances "men stealing fruit or a foreign doctor like the one in Alexis'

[1] *Poetics*, 1449a 11. Herakleitos, B 15 (D-K). A similar but much later performance in Ephesus is illustrated on a relief (Keil, *Ö. Jh.*, xxix (1934), 91) and described in the *Acta Timothei*: the performers wore masks and *phalloi*.

[2] *Poetics*, 1449b 2. Cf. Pickard-Cambridge, op. cit. p. 231, n. 3.

[3] Typical specimens are listed by Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, 199; Greifenhagen, *Schwarzfigurige Vasengattung*, 88; Buschor, *Satyrtänze*, 58; Beazley, *Hesperia*, xiii (1944), 46.

[4] E.g. Ure, *Sixth*, Pl. ix, 31, 87; *Aryballoi*, Pl. xi, 86, 274. Leipzig, T 326. E. Bielefeld, *Komödienszene*, Leipzig, 1944. Rhitsona, 50.765 (*BSA*, xiv (1905), 260, Pl. x, a) has a frontal naked man who is phallic, cf. Corinthian mentioned below, n. 3, p. 582.

[5] Cf. Brun-Wolters, *Kabiren-Heligtum*, particularly Pls. 10, 12, 26, 27, 37, and Bieber, *HT*, Figs. 137-8.

Mandragorizomene". He explains the name as meaning "costumiers and actors" presumably because *deikela* means both "masks" and "performances".[1] They were therefore masked. "Men stealing fruit" gives us four valuable cross-references: (1) as Pickard-Cambridge notes, they were known to Epicharmos. (2) Padded dancers are so represented on a Corinthian vase[2] (to which we shall return later). It is likely therefore that, although the Agesilaos story suggests that they still performed in the fourth century, we should equate the *deikeliktai* with the padded dancers on Laconian vases of the second and third quarter of the sixth century B.C.[3] They frequently dance on either side of a krater with a flautist. They are beardless and bearded; the padded short chiton is often represented but sometimes left out so that the dancer only appears as abnormally fat, sometimes with a red belly. They are not phallic.[4] These vases are much less interesting than the Corinthian vases with padded dancers, but they have their importance because they show that padded dancers existed in Sparta and suggest that they may have been *deikeliktai*. (3) Xenophon in the *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians* (II, 9) records "cheese-stealing" in the sanctuary of Ortheia. (4) Pollux[5] speaks of Laconian dances in which they mimed men caught stealing stale meat. If this may be regarded as parallel with the fruit stealers and also ascribed to the *deikeliktai*, the *deikeliktai* were dancers. Pollux says that the dances took place on Malea and the first one he mentions is "Silens and with them Satyrs dancing in

[1] Plutarch, *Agesilaos*, 1, equates them with *mimoi* but this tells us nothing about their costume: *mimoi* were *not* masked (cf. my article in *Eph. Arch.*, forthcoming).

[2] See below, n. 5, p. 579.

[3] Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 123, n. 7; Lane, *BSA*, xxxiv (1933), 160, n. 1; Beazley, *Raccolta Guglielmi*, Pl. 1, no. 3. Similar figures in lead in the sanctuary of Ortheia, *Artemis Orthia*, Pls. 183, 22, 25; 189, 12-15; 197, 30 and 35-7.

[4] I am not clear how the very curious cup in Sparta (Lane, op. cit. Pl. 39a and 40) should be interpreted. I think only the padded women on the extreme right are actual performers. The rest may be the subject of their song, which will be the attack on two nymphs by a hairy Silen and a fat man. Terracotta and limestone phallic figures were found in the sanctuary of Ortheia, e.g. Pls. 40, 9; 63, 7.

[5] Pollux, iv, 104. Pickard-Cambridge, op. cit. p. 258.

panic". Pindar speaks of Silenos (fr. 142): "fierce is the dancer whom Malea reared, the bedfellow of Nais". Some such scene is depicted on the cup in Sparta with the attack on two Nymphs by a hairy Silen and a fat man.

Among the dances the *bryllika*, which Pollux says were danced by women in honour of Apollo and Artemis, according to Hesychius were danced by men wearing ugly female masks and female clothing. This suggests several lines of thought. First, we wonder whether there is any connection between this account and the padded women on the cup in Sparta.[1] Secondly, it provides a predecessor for the hag who dances with a comic actor in the Bacchic thiasos on an Apulian vase[2] and for the other ugly female masks of comedy. Thirdly, a connection has been seen with the female masks of the early sixth century found in the sanctuary of Ortheia.[3] These wrinkled masks have been regarded as the ancestors of the wrinkled fat old woman of comedy—there is a long history in between, but we may perhaps say that all the ugly old female masks of comedy and some of the dances of comedy have predecessors of which the Ortheia masks and the *bryllika* provide Spartan examples. But the Ortheia masks themselves also point Eastwards: R. D. Barnett[4] is completely justified in stating that the earliest clay masks at the Ortheia site are of purely Phoenician appearance. Another Eastern reference for Ortheia is given by the "Procession of Lydians" mentioned by Plutarch with an untenable historical explanation.[5] Some at least of the Ortheia masks are gorgons, and Ortheia seems, therefore, to have been a Gorgon-headed queen of beasts such

[1] Cf. above, n. 4, p. 576.

[2] Quoted above, n. 1, p. 570.

[3] R. M. Dawkins, *Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia*, Pls. 47-9, 55, 56, 2 and 3; 57-61; 62, 2 and 3; Pickard-Cambridge, op. cit. Figs. 19-26; Zervos, *L'Art en Grèce*, Figs. 90-5. Dawkins, Pl. 56, 2 and 3, are certainly Gorgons. I find it difficult to assert positively that the others quoted are not Gorgons; the boundary between Gorgons and ugly old women is not clear to me, although I think it probably exists; I see no justification for the further subdivision into "possibly Portraits" and "grotesques" and I find no old men.

[4] *JHS*, lxviii (1948), 6, n. 35.

[5] *Aristides*, 17. D. L. Page, *Alcman*, p. 72.

as appears on a Rhodian plate of the early sixth century B.C.[1] Again we are led Eastwards and we can, I think, take one step further. In the ninth book of the *Iliad* (502) Phoenix tries to persuade Achilles by his picture of Infatuation as a strong runner and the Prayers as wrinkled, squinting, lame old women. The pattern, beautiful leader and not quite so beautiful chorus, is well-known, e.g. Artemis and her nymphs in the sixth *Odyssey* (102-9); there may have been a similar pattern, ugly leader and not quite so ugly chorus. I suggest that Homer modelled his Infatuation and Prayers on a chorus of men dressed as wrinkled old women dancing in honour of a gorgon-headed Artemis. Finally, the *bryllika* have been connected with the dancing of the *kordax* in honour of Artemis Kordaka in Elis, a dance which Pausanias derived from Asia Minor and which seems to have been very like a dance performed by Lydian maidens in honour of Artemis at Ephesos. Thus the Spartan evidence suggests that (1) the *deikeliktai* wore the padded costume of comedy in the sixth century and continued till the fourth, (2) they sang of and therefore perhaps represented Silens and satyrs, (3) men representing women, both padded and ugly as in later comedy, danced in the sixth century to Ortheia and Artemis, (4) cross references for the last can be found in the East.

Let us add here our scanty knowledge about the East. We have noticed the songs to the *phallos* in Herakleitos, the dances at Ephesos, the Phoenician masks, the Gorgon-headed goddess at Rhodes, the chorus of ugly old women in Homer. Dancers occur in several East Greek fabrics and their postures and gestures are not unlike those of the padded dancers that we have examined.[2] Often they are naked, often they have loincloths, sometimes they have caps. Two points are possibly of interest here. (1) On Chiot pottery of the early sixth century

[1] British Museum, A 748. Nilsson, *Geschichte*, i, 211, 286, Pl. 30/2; Rumpf, *Jb*, xlviii (1933), 76, no. 18.

[2] E.g. Naucratite, E. R. Price, *JHS*, xliv (1924), Pl. 5, 13; Chiot, loc. cit. Pl. 11; Fikellura, R. M. Cook, *BSA*, xxxiv, Pl. 5, 7, 8, 9, 13; Clazomenian, R. M. Cook, *BSA*, xlvii, 128 ff., 134; Campana dinoi, F. Villard, *Mon. Piot.*, xliii (1949), 33 ff.

the dancers habitually wear a cap made of stuff rolled round like a turban and loin cloths, which look very like those of the padded women on the Laconian cup in Sparta. They may therefore be men dressed as women. (2) On a Caeretan hydria [1] of the last quarter of the sixth century naked male komasts alternate with females wearing a very short chiton, which only comes down to the waist. These East Greek vases are evidence for the continuity of similar dances all over the Greek world. Besides the dancers a plastic vase of the early seventh century in the form of a fat, phallic being, presumably a satyr, was found in the precinct of Hera at Samos.[2]

We can then turn to the much fuller Corinthian evidence.[3] Besides the main body of vases with padded dancers, which date roughly from the middle of the seventh to the middle of the sixth century, we have two from the fourth century,[4] roughly contemporary with the terracottas already mentioned. A young Norwegian scholar, A. Seeberg, has recently made a careful study of the early vases, which is to be published in a forthcoming number of *Symbolae Osloenses*, and I have had the advantage of reading his manuscript and discussing points with him. The fat men generally appear dancing, often round a mixing bowl, but sometimes in contexts which are for one reason or another interesting: (*a*) stealing wine [5] (stealing fruit is, as we have seen, attested by Athenaeus for the *deikeliktai*). On the back of the vase: two figures who seem to be padded dancers, imprisoned in a cellar where a woman in long dress feeds them. On the front: two padded dancers, one with double flute; two naked men with a wine jar, named *Eunos* and *Ophelandros*—*Eunos* has marks on his arm which suggest a short chiton, *Ophelandros* is phallic—, a naked man

[1] Louvre, Campana 10227, P. Devambez, *Mon. Piot.*, xli (1942), 35 ff.

[2] Buschor, *BSA*, xlvi, 32.

[3] Pickard-Cambridge, op. cit. pp. 263 ff.; Greifenhagen, op. cit. p. 37; Payne, *NC*, pp. 118 ff. (additions by Hopper, *BSA*, xliv, 162); Buschor, *Satyrtänze*, pp. 18 ff., Herter, op. cit. pp. 10 ff. To save space I refer to the numbers in the catalogue of Payne's *Necrocorinthia*, wherever possible.

[4] Corinth, *AJA*, xxxiv (1930), 342, Fig. 6. Athens 1391 (5815), Bieber, *HT*, Fig. 136. Professor Trendall assures me that this last vase is Corinthian.

[5] Payne, *NC*, no. 1178, p. 122; Bieber, *HT*, Figs. 84-5.

with two sticks, grossly phallic, named *Omrikos*. The names in spite of doubts seem to me to be fixed as names of *daimones* by the next vase to be considered (*Omrikos* was a name of Dionysos in Halikarnassos). It is possible that as for the Laconian cup in Sparta we should distinguish between the two padded dancers and the other figures, who may be the subject of their dance and song. (*b*) Herakles and hydra.[1] Six dancers on the other side have the names *Komios*, *Lordios*, *Loxios*, *Paichnios*, *Vhadesios : Lordios*, particularly, with its likeness to *Lordo* in a fragment of the comic poet Plato (fr. 174K) must be a *daimon* ; so therefore are the rest. The painter has carefully connected the two scenes by linking the end figures, but this may be an archaic mannerism and it is perhaps better here to think that the padded dancers dance and sing of their *daimones* than that they represent their *daimones* singing of Herakles and the hydra. (*c*) Return of Hephaistos :[2] three vases represent this subject, which we have already met in Epicharmos and Attic Comedy. On the Musée Rodin mastos the attendants of Hephaistos are normal padded dancers. On the krater in the British Museum two are normal, two are naked. On the amphoriskos in Athens all wear short chitons, all are walking rather than dancing. Two are grossly phallic ; of these one has a face like a satyr and a spotted chiton. The explanation seems to me again that the painters are somewhere between two poles : the actual dance, which the padded dancers perform, and the subject of their song and dance, which is the return of Hephaistos accompanied by Dionysos and satyrs.

Here then again padded dancers are very closely connected with Dionysos and can be thought of by the painter as satyrs. Let us add the other evidence that they may represent satyrs. (1) On three vases[3] a bearded draped man reclines on a couch

[1] Louvre, *CA*, 3004. Amandry, *Mon. Piot.* xl, 23 ff. Here Fig. 1, for which I owe the photograph to the kindness of M. Devambez. Other mythological subjects connected with padded dancers ; Poseidon (*Ant. Denk.* ii, Pl. 40/3), Calydonian boar (*Ant. Denk.* i, Pl. 8, 19a).

[2] Payne, *NC*, no. 1073 (Athens 664 ; Bieber, *HT*, Fig. 83) ; no. 1176 (British Museum, B42) ; Paris, Rodin 503, *CV*, Pl. 7.

[3] Payne, *NC*, no. 717, 1030, 1359. I am not clear from the rough drawing whether one of the dancers on no. 1030 is phallic or not (cf. Pickard-Cambridge, op. cit. p. 266).

(once with a woman) among the padded dancers, who are once joined by naked women and once by clothed women.[1] This is the scene familiar on Attic vases of Dionysos or Dionysos and Ariadne with satyrs or satyrs and maenads. (2) The dancers often dance with naked women.[2] (*a*) A Corinthian krater in Dresden[3] gives the names *Dion*, *Syris*, *Varis*, *Poris*, *.yros*; Poris recurs as the name of a maenad dancing with satyrs on a Chalkidian krater.[4] (*b*) On another Chalkidian krater[5] padded dancers and naked women dance on the shoulder and are echoed by satyrs and maenads in the main scene. It is very difficult to avoid the conclusion that when a Corinthian painter[6] paints satyrs dancing with naked women (i.e. maenads) he is not painting the mythical counterpart of padded dancers dancing with naked women. (3) Padded dancers occur once with a male and once with a female protome,[7] just as Attic satyrs often dance as a goddess or god rises from the ground.[8] (4) One vase is decorated with a padded dancer, Silen, and nude man.[9] (5) A padded dancer once wears a panther skin, like a satyr.[10] (6) On one vase[11] a goat is tied to the krater round which they dance.

There are two other questions. Why are the padded dancers sometimes spotted[12] and are they ever phallic? The spots connect them with Corinthian plastic vases[13] made in the shape of squatting fat men, animals, etc., and among them the spots (as sometimes scales) seem to be a convention for hair. A figure very like the plastic vases of squatters occurs on a

[1] The padded dancers are also associated with women in long frocks on *Clara Rhodes*, vi-vii, Pl. 1, Figs. 5-6.

[2] Payne, *NC*, nos. 1359, 1438, 1439, 1460, 1477; *BSA*, xxxv, Pls. 37, 34; Kraiker, *Agina*, no. 423.

[3] Payne, *NC*, no. 1477.

[4] Rumpf, *Chalkidische Vasen*, no. 13.

[5] Ibid., no. 2.

[6] Payne, *NC*, no. 1372, by the Tydeus painter as no. 1359.

[7] Payne, *NC*, no. 461, 734a.

[8] Cf. E. Buschor, "Feldmaüse", *SBAW* (1937), 3.

[9] Payne, *NC*, no. 1282a. I am indebted to Professor C. Blümel for a drawing of this.

[10] Payne, *NC*, no. 515.

[11] Ibid., no. 724.

[12] E.g. Payne, *NC*, no. 953; 1073; Oslo, Etnografisk Museum, 6922.

[13] Cf. Payne, *NC*, 180. C. M. Robertson cited in next note.

proto-Corinthian kyathos[1] from Ithaca; I should like to interpret him as a satyr listening to Orpheus. If the chitons with spots are hairy chitons, then a mythical counterpart is the hairy tailless satyr who appears occasionally on Corinthian vases.[2] Padded dancers may then be either hairy or hairless. The vast majority are not phallic and the instances that we have mentioned so far can be explained away as belonging to the mythical original rather than to the actual dancer. But on five vases[3] one at least of the ordinary padded dancers is undoubtedly equipped with a *phallos*. It may be that he has, therefore, some special position. This is of great interest since the major distinction between the normal padded dancer and the comic actor is the absence of the *phallos*. Thus we find early instances of the complete comic costume in Corinth worn by some kind of leader of a chorus representing satyrs. The chorus was performing in the time of Arion: on one of the vases[4] a chorusman looks at a dolphin. This may allude to Arion and these may be Arion's satyrs.

We have then to consider the Attic evidence. Padded dancers occur on a group of Attic vases of the first third of the sixth century, which have been much studied.[5] On these we sometimes find padded dancers and naked dancers together on the same vase, but as time goes on the padded dancers seem to give place to naked dancers. The chief group, which is the work of four main painters and various other artists, is now recognized as Attic but under strong Corinthian influence. Thus Sir John Beazley[6] writes: "They are the earliest of the countless revellers in Attic vase painting and they are borrowed from Corinth . . . there can be no doubt that the new shape (the cup) is borrowed from Corinth." The question, which

[1] Robertson, *BSA*, xliii, 22, no. 52. [2] Payne, *NC*, no. 1258.

[3] Payne, *NC*, no. 515 (one out of five dancers), 805 (two out of five dancers), 1158 (one out of six dancers), 1159 (one out of six dancers), 1004 (one out of thirteen dancers).

[4] Payne, *NC*, no. 989. The Triton on the other side also belongs to the sea.

[5] Greifenhagen, *Schwarzfigurige Vasengattung*; Payne, *NC*, 194; Beazley, *Hesperia*, xiii (1944), 45; *Development of Attic Black-Figure*, pp. 19 ff. Note that Pickard-Cambridge, op. cit., frontispiece, and Figs. 34-5, 40 illustrate Attic and *not* Corinthian vases. [6] *Development*, 20.

we have met also in dealing with Boeotian and Laconian dancers, is whether the Athenians bought these vases as imitations of Corinthian vases or as pictures of dances which they knew at home. The latter solution does not in the least preclude the possibility that painters of Attic vases first painted these Attic dances because they saw similar dances on Corinthian vases. If we cannot show that any of the fat distorted naked dancers, who occur on Attic vases of other groups [1] over a long period, are convincingly earlier than the padded dancers, we have two lines of argument for suggesting that such dances existed in Athens, first, that the Attic pictures of dances contain elements unknown in the Corinthian, and secondly, that the mythical counterparts of the dancers can be shown at an earlier stage in Athens (provided that we can also show that the Attic dancers too are to be in some way equated with satyrs).

Whereas naked men are common from the beginning on the Attic vases, naked women [2] are much less common than in Corinthian. Women dancing with padded men or their nude equivalents are normally either padded like the men [3] or wear a very short chiton [4] (like the women on the rather later Caeretan hydria discussed above) or wear a chiton reaching about half-way down the thighs.[5] This seems to be a real difference of local custom and strongly suggests that the women who danced with padded men were thought of in Athens as clothed rather than naked. The second question, as to earlier Attic counterparts in myth for the padded dancers, cannot be answered with

[1] E.g. early: *Hesperia*, iv (1935), 430 ff. Before 550: Louvre, CA, 576, Beazley, *JHS*, li (1931), 278, no. 3; Syracuse, Beazley, *Bull. Metr. Mus.*, v (1934), 108, no. 41; Kent collection, Charlton, *AJA*, xlviii (1944), 254; Louvre, E 876, *CV*, IIIHd, Pl. 21-3. After 550 Amasis painter, Kraiker, *AM*, lvi (1934), Pl. 4; Beazley, *JHS*, li (1931), 261, no. FF.

[2] E.g. Beazley, *Hesperia*, xiii (1944), 49, "connected with the Komast group", nos. 4-7, illustrated, *JHS*, xlix (1929), Pl. 15, 15; *CV*, Oxford, Pl. 2, 1-2.

[3] E.g. Payne, *NC*, Fig. 88a (Beazley, loc. cit., 48, manner of Ky painter, no. 1, says "Youths", but the eye of the middle one seems to distinguish her as a woman, as Payne says); later British Museum, 1920.2.16.2, *CV*, Pl. 10/4.

[4] Beazley, loc. cit., 49, Palazzolo painter, no. 3 = *Göttinger Vasen*, Pl. 4, 13; Band cup, *CV*, Copenhagen, Pl. 118/2.

[5] Beazley, *Hesperia*, xiii (1944), 49, Palazzolo painter, nos. 1 (Pickard-Cambridge, Fig. 40), 2 (*CV*, Hoppin, Pl. 11/1), and 4 (*JHS*, xlix (1929), Pl. 16/2). A long chiton is rare but occurs on, e.g., *CV*, Scheurleer, IIIHe, Pl. 4, 1.

absolute certainty, but certain very curious figures on Attic vases of the mid-seventh century[1] (particularly the three stone-throwers on a vase in Berlin, one hairy, two naked, all with large rosettes on their buttocks) are most easily explained as proto-satyrs. If this is right, then we must ask further whether the padded dancers show any signs of being satyrs or rather men representing satyrs. For this we have four different kinds of evidence. (1) On a dinos in the Louvre[2] bearded and unbearded dancers perform next door to satyrs and maenads who escort Hephaistos. This should be interpreted as the parallel Corinthian scenes: the dancers dance and sing the return of Hephaistos. Four of the ten dancers are phallic. Does this mean that they wore *phalloi* or merely that they are inspired by the power of the god? (2) On a vase by the Amasis painter already quoted[3] two naked fat men stand on either side of Dionysos instead of his normal attendant satyrs. (3) On a Heidelberg cup in Copenhagen[4] the maenads who dance with the satyrs wear a very short chiton and dance in exactly the same way as the women among the dancers. (4) On a cup in Florence[5] both sides are decorated with a *phallos* pole carried by a row of sweating little men; on one side the pole is surmounted by a fat man and on the other by a hairy satyr. They seem to be equivalents. As in Corinth the explanation seems to be that the padded dancers are men representing satyrs. But in Athens the padding is frequently not shown and then they appear either as fat men or, indeed, as thin men, but I am not clear that we can argue from this, as Buschor does,[6] to any change in the actual appearance of the dancers during the course of the sixth century.

[1] Beazley, *Development*, 9 on Berlin A 32. Buschor, *BSA*, xlvi (1951), 29 ff.

[2] Louvre E 876, cf. above n. 1, p. 583. On the amphora, Louvre E 860. *CF*, Pl. 6, 2 and 9, three comasts join three satyrs in the return of Hephaistos.

[3] *AM*, 1934, Pl. 4; cf. Berlin, 1690, *AM*, 1931, Beilage 50; Munich, 1383, *CV*, Pl. 21; Louvre, F. 36, *CV*, Pl. 15, 5 and 8. Contrariwise, satyrs among the dancers on Tyrrhenian amphorae, e.g. *CV*, Louvre, Pl. 3, 5 and 11; *CV*, Copenhagen, Pl. 101, 1.

[4] *CV*, Copenhagen, Pl. 113/3 = Beazley, *JHS*, li (1931), 280, no. 14.

[5] Florence. Herter, *RE*, xix, 1674; Nilsson, *Gesch.*, i, 558, Pl. 35, 2-3. Here Fig. 2 from photograph provided by Sopraintendenza antichita, Florence.

[6] *Satyrtänze*, 57.

FIG. 1

FIG. 2

[*To face* p. 584

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

The padded women represented maenads, but were they in fact women or men? The Spartan *bryllika* according to Hesychius were danced by men wearing women's masks. We have to consider three Attic vases here. On the first, a little black figure cup without handles of about 520 B.C.,[1] we find with ordinary fattish dancers and a fluteplayer other young men who have a girl's head on the top of their heads. The natural explanation is that this is a mask[2] and that the chorus is a mixed chorus representing satyrs and maenads. With this information we can interpret another vase of the middle of the sixth century;[3] a flute-player and five youths dressed in chitons which come down to their knees and over them a garment said to be a jacket but which I take from its long tail to be a skin. They again are maenads but here the painter has not represented the masks. A third vase[4] shows men in a similar costume, a cup of the second quarter of the century in Amsterdam. On both sides six dancers are divided by a flautist. Nine wear chitons down to their ankles. Of these three wear caps surmounted by two upright objects which may be *phalloi* and six wear pointed caps. The other three (and the two flute-players) wear pointed caps and chitons down to their knees. If we had these three alone, I think we should interpret them as maenads and say that the painter had drawn them without their masks. If we had the figures with *phalloi* alone, I think we should interpret them as *ithyphalloi*. But each trio is joined to another trio with long chitons and pointed caps. They could also be maenads since at this time maenads in long chitons are at least as common as maenads in short chitons. We cannot solve this riddle; we can only accept the evidence of choruses of men in women's clothing[5] and note that we cannot

[1] Rome, Museo Artistico-Industriale, here Fig. 3 (photo: Gabinetto fotografico nazionale). Von Mercklin, *RM*, xxxviii (1923), 82.

[2] If it is not a mask but the character which the young man represents, it is still evidence that the young man performed as a maenad.

[3] Eleusis, 1212, here Fig. 4 (photo: Agora Museum). Vanderpool, *Hesperiai* vii (1938), 409. The style recalls to me Louvre, F. 51, Beazley, *BSA*, xxxi, (1932), 11.

[4] Cf. above, n. 2, p. 574.

[5] The fact that they are a chorus of identical performers distinguishes them from the various red-figure pictures of men in women's dress with umbrellas

say for certain that they did not also wear masks and represent women.

Thus in Attica we have evidence for choruses of men representing satyrs and men representing maenads (as well as of men representing animals) long before the official commencement of comedy. The padded men presumably ceased to represent satyrs when the satyr play was introduced by Pratinas at the beginning of the fifth century: the new costume, which made satyrs appear on the stage as they had appeared for nearly a century in art—phallic slim men with horse tails and ears and snub noses—is soon reflected on vases[1]—drawers attaching the *phallos* and tail show that a satyr chorus man is meant: the drawers are sometimes shaggy and goatlike, sometimes decorated with a rosette, which recalls the rosettes on the buttocks of the proto-Attic proto-satyrs.[2] The padded dancers could then become the chorus of comedy, if the chorus represented ordinary citizens. The evidence of Attic vases does not allow us to assert that they had a leader who wore the *phallos* and could become the actor of comedy, but it is difficult to suppose otherwise. We have noted that in Corinth a leader seems occasionally to be marked out in this way, and we may wonder whether Arion's western tour originated or, as seems more likely, rejuvenated these dancers in the Greek cities of the West, where the dancers were called *phlyakes*. In Sicily as we have suggested the padded dancers probably provided chorus and actors for Epicharmus. His contemporary Phormis according to Suidas "first used clothes stretching to the feet and purple curtains instead of skins"[3] —town scenery perhaps instead of country, or rather non-Dionysiac instead of Dionysiac, and women dressed in long

collected by Buschor, *Jb*, xxxviii-xxxix (1923-4), 128 ff., and annotated by Nilsson, *Act. Arch.*, xiii, 223. Cf. also, A. Rumpf in *Studies presented to D. M. Robinson*, ii, p. 84.

[1] Cf. Beazley, *Some Attic Vases in the Cyprus Museum*, p. 41; early examples, Brommer, *Satyrspiele*, Fig. 5, 6, 16.

[2] Cf. above, n. 1, p. 584.

[3] Kaibel, *CGF*, p. 148. Purple curtains were found in fourth-century Megarian comedy. Curtains in the *parodos* of Attic comedy are attested by the Vlastos oenochoe (cf. n. 1 above, p. 568).

chitons instead of the short ones that we have noted as the common wear of maenads. A similar transformation of the scene must have taken place in Athens before the time of Aristophanes; maenads in long chitons were already known there in the sixth century. Other elements in Old Comedy, certain dances and the masks of ugly women, we have traced back through the Peloponnese and Sparta to the Greek cities of Asia Minor, where the development of the dances took a rather different line in the sixth century, as we have seen.

Our scattered evidence, which I have tried to make clearer by the accompanying table, suggests that the elements of Attic comic costumes, to which men representing animals, men representing satyrs, men representing maenads, men representing ugly old women, men dressed in women's clothes, all made their contribution, were very old and practically universal in Greek cities so that any patriot, like the Dorians known to Aristotle, could claim the origin of comedy. The decisive step, however, was taken in Athens in the latter part of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth century when tragedy first, then the satyr play, and then comedy (and I suspect dithyramb) [1] received in turn their distinctive costume. But the dances went on in other places and probably also in Attica; sometimes they were transformed into local comedy and at other times they provided chorus and actors for imported Attic comedy; the Greek world was sufficiently closely interconnected for local comedy to have its influence also on Attica.

[1] I cannot pursue this subject here: I think, as I have said, that the padded dancers probably were Arion's satyrs and sang Arion's dithyrambs. It is certainly possible that they also sang the sufferings of Adrastos in Sikyon (Mr. A. Seeberg pointed out to me that padded dancers appear at the entrance of an archaic tomb in Cyprus). They seem therefore to be the beginnings of tragedy, comedy, and dithyramb.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF COMEDY

	Athens	*Peloponnese*	*Boeotia, Euboea*	*Asia Minor*	*Magna Graecia*
				Ate and Litai (Homer)	
700	Proto-satyrs (vases)			Satyr vase (Samos)	
		Corinthian vases and plastic vases			
		Tragic choruses of Adrastos (Sikyon)			
		Arion's satyrs and dithyramb			Arion's tour
600		Ortheia masks. *Bryllika*		Gorgon-headed Artemis (Rhodes)	
	Padded dancers (vase)	Laconian vases (*deikeliktai*)	Boeotian vases (*ethelontai*)		
			Chalkidian vases	East Greek komasts	
	? *Ithyphalloi* (vase)	? *phallophoroi* (Sikyon)		? *ithyphalloi* (Herakleitos)	
	Maenad chorus (vase)				
500	Attic comedy	Megarian comedy			Epicharmus, Phormis, etc.
	Rf. vases with comic actors		Kabeiran vases		
400	Lyme Park Relief	*deikeliktai* (Plutarch)			Early South Italian vases
	Terracottas	Imported Attic terracottas	Imported Attic terracottas	Imported Attic terracottas	Imported Attic terracottas
	Aixone relief	Original terracottas			Original terracottas
	Ithyphalloi (Demosthenes, Hyperides)	(Corinth, Megara)			Apulian, Campanian,
	New Comedy	Corinthian vases			Paestan vases
300	*Ithyphalloi* (Demetrios Poliorketes)				Literary *phlyakes*

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